The Outlook

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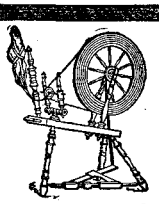

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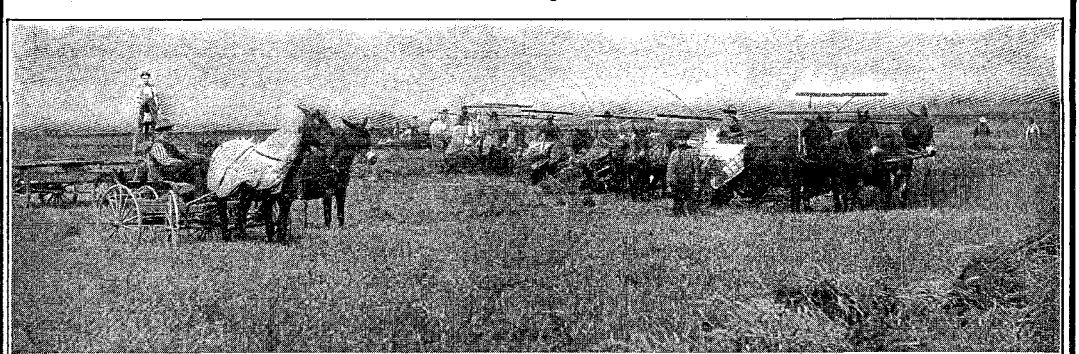

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The Outlook

NEW YORK, AUGUST 15, 1908

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William Boyd Allison

The "elder statesmen" among the Republicans of the United States Senate are passing away. Sherman of Ohio, Hoar and Dawes of Massachusetts, Hawley and Platt of Connecticut, McMillan of Michigan, and now Allison of Iowa, have died. Edmunds of Vermont, Washburn of Minnesota, and Spooner of Wisconsin have dropped out. Aldrich of Rhode Island, Hale and Frye of Maine, are alone left of the old coterie which a decade and two decades ago molded the country's legislation. Nowadays younger and more radical Republican Senatorial aspirants are pressing to the front—a La Follette, a Bristow, a Cummins. Mr. Allison's death removes not only one of the "Old Guard," but one whose political life was co-existent with that of the Republican party itself. In 1856, the year of that party's birth, William Boyd Allison was a local active worker for Fremont in the Presidential campaign, and in 1860 was a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Lincoln. On March 3, 1863, Allison, Garfield, and Blaine each entered upon his service in the House of Representatives. Mr. Allison served until 1871, having declined a fifth nomination. In 1873 he was elected Senator, and served continually since; he was thus in Congress forty-three years. His term would have expired next March, but he was to be re-elected, having been renominated in June, when Iowa, for the first time, adopted the direct primary nomination plan. That Senator Allison could win over so brilliant an opponent as is Governor Cummins shows the respect in which he was held by his constituents. His personal leanings were indicated in his first Congressional efforts; namely, towards securing improvements for the Mississippi River. It was appropriate, therefore, that President Roosevelt should make him a member of the recently appointed Conservation Commission. Mr. Allison's first speech was in support of a bill securing to army men homesteads on forfeited estates in insurrectionary districts. He also secured the adoption of a popular amendment to the Pacific Railway Bill, thus emphasizing his sympathies with the rights of the citizen. He soon took his place as an authority on all financial questions, and became a member of the Senate's two committees in this domain—those of Appropriations and of Finance. He was chairman of the first, a position in which his encyclopædic knowledge was at every one's service. As is well known, this chairmanship is one of grinding toil in the nice determination of appropriations. In this duty Mr. Allison held the confidence of all his colleagues. Senator Hoar, in his "Recollections of Seventy Years," says, "No other man in the country, in my judgment, could have done so well."

❀

Mr. Allison's Influence in Finance

The record of the Senate Committee on Appropriations shows that Senator Allison had more influence than any one else in Congress in shaping public expenditure. He always acted with a desire to exercise true economy, shunning parsimony and extravagance alike. It should also be added that, though the chief disburser of ten billion dollars, Mr. Allison lived and died a comparatively poor man. In the discharge of his responsibilities the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is in close contact with the Executive. What the President thought of the late Chairman is shown in the following despatch to Mr. Allison's secretary:

The whole country loses a man grown gray in the most honorable type of public

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service, a man who, because of his experience and trained ability, was one of the most efficient aids in achieving good government that we have had in our country.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Judge Taft's despatch reads:

In the death of Senator Allison the country has lost a great public servant and a great statesman. He was a most wise counselor and legislator. No one can overestimate the benefit that he by his long service in the House and Senate rendered his country. The burden he has had to carry for many years as the head of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate did not attract the attention that the public gives to more interesting but less important legislative action. I am greatly shocked to hear of his death. I loved him as every one did who came within the influence of his sweet nature and strong character. He was a warm friend of my father and mother, and I consulted him as a son would a father. It is a great privilege to have known him.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Mr. Bryan thus fitly sums up Senator Allison's career: "He enjoyed the confidence of the country regardless of party." Mr. Allison's most notable achievement, in his own opinion and in ours, was his transformation of the Bland Bill of 1878 into the Bland-Allison Bill. As it passed the House, the Bland Bill was practically a free-coinage measure. Mr. Allison finally worked out a clever compromise. The amended bill passed the Senate, and the House concurred. Faulty as was the measure in its final form, Mr. Allison had saved the country from slipping to a silver basis. From that time forth Senator Allison became known as one who could straighten out apparently impossible snarls. He proved this in later legislation, especially in that affecting the tariff, transportation, and naval defense. Opportunist as he was, Mr. Allison never compromised on the fundamental principles of morality. Like that other long-time familiar Washington figure, the late Representative Hitt, and, in especial, like President McKinley, Mr. Allison was emphatically an "ear to the ground" statesman. His peace-making desires and his cautiousness were temperamental, and were so unusual as to call forth many a gibe. During one of the occasions when Mr. Allison's name was mentioned as a candidate for the Presidency, his Iowan colleague, Senator Gear, expressed the feeling of many in saying, "If Allison had ever kicked a man downstairs, or had had a big quarrel, or had made a lot of enemies, he would have been President of the United States." In physical appearance Mr. Allison was the pride of the "elder statesmen." At seventy-nine years of age his complexion still retained its youthful bloom, his large brown eyes seemed as lustrous as ever, and his mind as exact and alert. Mr. Allison was what the French call "causeur," as opposed to "orateur;" that is to say, he represented in high degree the force as well as the charm and courtesy of conversation. If he did not influence the masses by his public speaking, he did influence the molders of legislation by clear, compact, direct argument. His manner was uninterruptedly as quiet and unpretentious as was his dress. Not a great political leader, Mr. Allison was pre-eminently a gentleman, a scholar, and a most useful Senator.

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Mr. Hughes's Candidacy

The Republican leaders in New York State do not lead; they follow. Mr. Parsons and Mr. Woodruff decline to express any opinion on the question whether Mr. Hughes should be the Republican candidate for Governor this fall or not. They are waiting to see what others say. Men who wait to see what others say are not leaders; they are followers. What has made Mr. Roosevelt in National politics, and Mr. Hughes in State politics, leaders, is the fact that they have not waited to see what other people say; they have spoken and have expected that other people would hear what they had to say. From every point of view Mr. Hughes is the legitimate candidate for renomination by the Republican party. It has come to be a tradition in New York to renominate the Governor if his administration has been successful and if he is in accord with the principles and policy of his party. Mr. Hughes's speech at the Republican Club last spring showed him to be in thorough sympathy with the principles of the Progressive or Roosevelt wing of the Republican party. His

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political action in urging the Public Utilities Commission further demonstrated this fact. There may be a question whether the State ought to forbid betting at horse races; there ought to be no question that when the people of the State have decided that betting shall be prohibited at horse races and have incorporated that decision in their State Constitution, those who are interested in the betting and in the horse races should not be allowed by the Legislature to nullify the will of the people. Governor Hughes's position that the will of the people, not the will of a clique, faction, or privileged class, is to be carried out, is the position of the Republican party as interpreted by its National leaders. It is a position which cannot be successfully controverted. It has made Mr. Hughes enemies among professional politicians and among the privileged class, but it has made him enthusiastic admirers among the great body of the people. His integrity and his ability are unquestionable. The fact that he was the official candidate of the Republicans of the State of New York for the Presidency shows that the Republican organization believed that his policy had made him a "favorite son" among the people of the State. It is safe to assume that the regular Republican vote will be cast for Mr. Taft next November. It is certain that Mr. Hughes would secure in addition a large independent vote. If it be granted that Mr. Hughes has made some mistakes, and that his methods have sometimes unnecessarily antagonized those whose co-operation he might have secured by persuasive methods, these facts—for we think they are facts—do not outweigh the considerations in favor of his renomination: his integrity, his ability, his Republican principles, his power of appeal to the people, his courage in antagonizing the enemies of the popular will, and his unquestionable and unquestioned popularity with the great mass of independent voters. Since the Republican leaders refuse to lead, it remains for the people to take the leadership into their own hands, and through the press and by private letters inform Mr. Woodruff and Mr. Parsons what is expected of them by the rank and file of the Republican and independent voters in the State.

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Western Primaries

The State of Kansas has just made its first experiment of the new popular primary. A day is fixed on which all the people of the State who have registered, or who have voted in the previous election, have the opportunity to determine by their votes who shall be the candidates of the various parties between whom the people of the State must choose in the fall elections. As we understand the law, there is nothing to prevent one who uniformly votes the Democratic ticket from voting in a Republican primary, and similarly a Republican from voting in a Democratic primary. Of course no man can vote in both primaries at the same election. An advantage of this system is that the nominations cannot be dictated by an oligarchic machine. Disadvantages are that the nomination of one party may, in a close contest, be determined by voters from another party, and that by his attendance on the primary the voter practically declares his political position and thus the secrecy of the ballot is modified, if not destroyed. We are by no means sure that the popular primary, as now attempted in a variety of States, is the ultimate solution of the problem of how to prevent political dictation by a political oligarchy. Whether the objections to or the advantages of the system as practiced in Kansas this year counterbalance is yet to be determined. The Eastern papers give very scant reports of the Democratic primary in Kansas, probably for the reason that Democratic nominations in that State have not much more significance than Republican nominations in some of the Southern States. In the Republican primary candidates for Governor and for United States Senator were voted for. The result was a decisive defeat of the organization which had been in control of the Republican party. Mr. W. R. Stubbs, the candidate of the so-called "Square deal" faction, defeated Mr. Cyrus Leland, the candidate of the old organization. In this contest two issues

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were prominent: law enforcement and State regulation of the railways—both of which Mr. Stubbs represented. In the contest for the United States Senatorship, Mr. Chester I. Long, former Senator, was defeated by Mr. Joseph L. Bristow, who, when he was Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, made the searching investigation that led to the wiping out of frauds in the Post-Office Department and the punishment of the offenders. Both candidates claimed to represent the Roosevelt policies. But Mr. Bristow's advocacy of them was more outspoken, perhaps more radical. Mr. La Follette, of Wisconsin, took an active part in the election on behalf of Mr. Bristow. Well-informed prophets anticipate that Governor Cummins, of Iowa, will succeed the late Senator Allison. Governor Cummins is a strong advocate of railway rate regulation and of tariff revision. If Mr. Taft should be elected President, he will have in Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cummins added strength to his administration in his endeavor to clinch the Republican policies of Mr. Roosevelt, to secure tariff revision, and to obtain from the Senate its approval of the action of the House in giving to the Philippine Islands, if not absolute free trade, a very much freer trade than they now enjoy. On the same day with those in Kansas, popular primaries were held in Missouri, for the first time in the State, and in Oklahoma. For the Governorship in Missouri the Republicans named Mr. Herbert K. Hadley, the Attorney-General of the State, who has made a brilliant record in compelling corporations to obey the law; the Democrats named a man who has usually been allied with the machine, Mr. W. S. Cowherd. Since under the Missouri Constitution a Governor cannot succeed himself, Governor Folk was not a candidate for the nomination. In Oklahoma Senator Gore, Democrat, was named for re-election.

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The Cuban Elections

Cuba and the Cubans may be heartily congratulated on the fact that the elections of last week were conducted in an orderly way, without violence or undue heat, and that the voters took a warm interest in the result, and settled by fair methods of balloting the personal and political questions involved. These elections, it will be remembered, were only for the choice of provincial and municipal officers—that is, for governors of the provinces and provincial councilmen, and for mayors and town councilmen, 1,393 officers in all. A Presidential election will follow in December, and the bearing of the vote just taken upon that election is one of its most important aspects. Governor Magoon, in a telegram of congratulation sent by him to Mr. Taft, pointed out that the thanks of the Cuban people are due to Mr. Taft for "laying out the course," and that, specifically, the successful operation of the new electoral law was due to Mr. Taft's suggestion that the electoral boards should be non-partisan in their majority, but should have partisan representation included. The victory of the Conservatives was contrary to most predictions, but seems to stand for the real wishes of the people. There were three parties in the field, Conservatives, Miguelistas, and Zayistas. When the revolution against General Palma broke out, and Secretary Taft tried to settle the political tangle without intervention, but in vain, there were two great political parties, the Moderates and the Liberals, and the radical wing of the Liberals shaded into the Revolutionists. Now, the Conservatives are in a measure, historically speaking, the successors of the Moderates; but they really form a new party, and they stand chiefly, we should say, for the personal support of their new leader, General Menocal, and, apart from that, for distrust and dislike of the opposing leaders. These opponents are, Alfredo Zayas, supported by the Zayistas, and Gomez, whose followers call themselves Miguelistas, after his popular designation Miguel—really his middle name, the first being José. These two leaders represent a split in the original Liberal party, and their bitter abuse of each other and their public wrangling has had its effect in driving solid and respectable voters over to the Conservative party. The situation is a little complicated, as may be judged from the fact that the New York Sun,

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which has taken a strong interest in Cuban affairs, printed a long special cable despatch the day after the election which characterized the result as an "international joke," stated that "the Conservatives are nothing more or less than the old Moderate party," and summed up the meaning neatly and epigrammatically by saying that it was "a general repudiation of the revolution and also of the intervention;" while the Sun editorially flatly contradicted the despatch, attributing the result to the personalities of the candidates, and adding that it is "a mistake to regard the result as in any way a repudiation of the revolt of 1906, or as indication of resentment toward the intervention." At all events, General Menocal appears to be a strong leader, and the prediction that he will be the next Cuban President and that he will not allow revolution to gather headway far before he hangs some of the leaders may be more than a casual view. It is certain that when the new Cuban national Government is set up after a fair election, supervised by the United States, the new Government, if it is to endure, must have behind it physical force enough, not merely to deal with ordinary criminals and to do police duty, or even to keep in order the bandits in remote districts, but also to maintain itself firmly against revolution and conspiracy.

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Dominion Politics

Since Confederation in 1867 there have been forty sessions of the Dominion Parliament. Not one of these exceeded in length that of 1907–8, which came to an end just in time to admit of members hurrying away to the Tercentenary celebrations at Quebec. The session had extended over 284 days. Its prolongation was due to the fact that a Dominion general election is expected in the autumn, and it was, consequently, the aim of the Opposition to make the most of the shortcomings of the Government. As regards policies, there is to-day no difference in political principles which separates the Liberals in power and the Conservatives in opposition. Until 1896 the tariff was the great dividing issue. But in the last twelve years the Liberals have accepted the National Policy of the Conservatives, and carried it much further. The only bill in the recent session over which there was any serious controversy as to principle was a measure which brought the registration of voters in Manitoba under some degree of Dominion control and oversight. For the rest, most of the discussion in this unusually long-drawn-out session centered about the increasing cost of government and the administrative record of the Laurier Cabinet. Twelve years ago the per capita expenditure was $8.14. In 1908 it is $18; and the total expenditure has increased from $41,700,000 in 1896 to $112,000,000 in 1908. In 1906 $27,700,000 was raised by customs and excise taxation; for 1907 the sum so raised was $73,000,000, an increase of 163 per cent. The Government's answer to the complaints of excessive expenditure was that since 1896 there has arisen a new Canada—a Canada that has its place among the great nations—and that the increased expenditure is warranted by the growing population and wealth and by the increased importance of the Dominion. The administrative record of the Government was challenged chiefly in connection with the development and growth of what is known at Ottawa as the middleman system.

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The Middleman in Politics

Under this system, when the Government desires to have a printing job undertaken for it or a six-million-dollar bridge built over the St. Lawrence, it turns over the work to partisans, who act as middlemen and collect a heavy toll for their services in that capacity. Many surprising details of the working of the system were brought out in the Committee on Public Accounts and in the endless discussions in the House of Commons on the votes for the public services. One case is typical of the system. A lawyer partisan of the Government in St. John, who has no job-printing plant, was given a large order for Government printing. He turned this over to a local printer, and retained twenty-five per cent of the payment from the Government as his commission. Many deals on this basis, affecting mat-

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ters as diverse as the purchase of targets for the militia and sites for roundhouses and repair-shops for the Intercolonial Railway, were exposed in the House of Commons, and there was no denial from the Government of the existence of the middleman system. It was pleaded in extenuation that it really cost the Government no more to deal through a middleman than to deal direct with principals, for the middleman only collected a commission always allowed by manufacturers, and that if the Government bought direct, the manufacturers would include this commission in their bill. A report, issued by a Royal Commission in the middle of the session, corroborated many of the serious charges of wasteful expenditure made against the Government by the Opposition, and altogether, on its administrative record, the Laurier Government came out only indifferently in the session of 1907–8. From this point of view it was the most trying and damaging to the Laurier Government of any session since 1896; and if in the approaching general election the Conservatives should succeed in defeating the Liberals, the defeat will be almost wholly due to the failure of the Government in the last four years to keep an effective control over the treasury, and, in particular, to ward off the raids of its middleman partisans. The party system has well-nigh broken down at Ottawa; for neither Liberals nor Conservatives stand to-day for any definite political principles. Political principles have almost ceased to be discussed in the constituencies; for the party leaders have ceased to contend that political principles, as once understood and professed in Canada, are of any value; and this temporary breaking down of the party system makes it more than ordinarily difficult to predict the result of the next general election. The Liberals, who had the active support of members of the Dominion Cabinet, were overwhelmingly defeated in the recent provincial elections in New Brunswick and Ontario, and the outlook for another term of power at Ottawa for the Liberal party is less favorable than at any time since the Conservative régime came to an end in 1896.

Extending the Canadian National Policy

While in this country the tendency in both political parties is toward a lowering of the protective duties in the Dingley Act, the movement in Canada, as the records of the recent session of Parliament show, is still in the contrary direction. At the general revision of the tariff, which occupied the House of Commons for nearly four months in the session of 1906–7, there were scores of increases in the protective duties and numerous curtailments of the preference first made for Great Britain in 1897; and, moreover, at this revision the iron and steel bounties, which are now costing the Dominion two million and a quarter of dollars a year, were continued until 1912. These changes were made by the Laurier Government in its effort to extend and improve upon the National Policy which the Conservatives created and developed between 1879 and 1896. In the last session of Parliament at Ottawa—the one which extended from November, 1907, to July 20—there were further extensions of the National Policy—this time chiefly in the interest of Canadian ship-builders and Canadian shipping. Although Canada has had protective tariffs since 1858, until 1908 owners of Canadian shipping were allowed to have their vessels repaired in American shipyards without the payment of duty, and many owners of large steel steamers plying on the Great Lakes have in recent years availed themselves of this freedom. There are only three steel ship-building companies operating yards at Canadian lake ports; and only one of these companies has a dry-dock in which modern lake freighters can be handled. These companies complained to the Government at Ottawa that repairs to the value of half a million dollars were made to Canadian vessels in American shipyards during the lake season of 1907; and in order to divert this work to the yards at Toronto, Bridgeburg, and Collingwood, the Laurier Government so amended the tariff as to impose a duty of twenty-five per cent on all repairs made to Canadian vessels in American shipyards. Early in the session also the Government passed an order-in-council

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excluding all but Canadian and British vessels from the coasting trade along the Atlantic shores of the Dominion. This change in the navigation code was made at the instance of merchants and ship repair men at Halifax, who were aggrieved because the managers of a fleet of large Norwegian steamers engaged in the coal trade between Sydney, Nova Scotia, and Montreal spent no money for supplies or repairs at the Nova Scotia ports. The Canadian Government sympathized with this grievance, and passed the order-in-council for exclusion, only to discover six months later that neither in Canada nor in England were there any vessels available for the work from which the Norwegian steamers, specially built for the trade, were to be dislodged. The result of this discovery was that the order-in-council had to be amended so as to retain the Norwegian vessels for the coal trade, while excluding from the coastwise business all other non-British vessels which might come into competition with Canadian tonnage. During the session of 1907–8 also the lead bounties were continued for another five years, and the scope of the petroleum bounty enactment was so widened as to include oil that is obtained from shale. Four industries now participate in the bounty system, which costs the Dominion nearly three million dollars a year. There were urgent appeals from the cotton and woolen manufacturers of Quebec and Ontario for higher duties to keep out imports from Great Britain; but adverse responses were made by the Government to these appeals. The postal regulations made in 1907, and intended to exclude American publications from Canada because they carry American advertising and result in the expenditure of Canadian money in the United States, were during the session the subject of much adverse comment in the House of Commons. These regulations were made in furtherance of the National Policy. The central idea was the restriction of the import trade. But the change worked adversely for Canadian newspaper publishers, who as one result had to pay higher postage on their publications mailed to the United States; and, like the order-in-council excluding the Norwegian vessels, the new postal regulations had to be amended or supplemented with a view to the re-establishment of the status as it was before the postal convention with the United States was revised at the dictation of the Canadian protectionists.

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An Inspiring Parliamentary Programme

When King Edward VII opened the British Parliament last January, his speech foreshadowed the passage of twelve important measures. Parliament has now adjourned for its usual vacation until mid-October. Two of the twelve measures have become law, the Old Age Pensions and the Irish Universities bills. This was to be expected, since the Opposition opposed neither measure in principle. At the last moment the House of Lords amended the Old Age Pensions Bill so as to limit its activity to seven years, in the hope of then securing a more scientific and economically sound pension system. But the House of Commons had purposely sent the bill to the Lords as a financial measure. Tradition demands that the Lords accept or refuse all financial bills in their entirety. Accordingly, the Commons declined to concur; the Lords yielded, and the bill became law. The Irish Universities Bill, providing for more widespread higher educational facilities in Ireland, represents a substantial success in constructive legislation and solves a question which had baffled the energies of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour. The success of this bill is due to Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland. He was able to convince some of his more narrow-minded brother Nonconformists that they could safely vote for a measure giving new advantage to the large Roman Catholic majority in Ireland. Of the postponed measures, the one just now looming largest in the public eye is the Licensing Bill, the most scientific as well as the boldest bill in regulating the liquor traffic ever introduced in England. Next in apparent importance comes the Education Bill. Its chances have improved, as all parties seem anxious to end

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the conflict of several years regarding the measure. Of equally fundamental importance, however, are the proposals to amend existing land laws both in Great Britain and Ireland. It is hoped that the House of Lords will approve the bills which are to pass the Commons giving greater opportunity, under Government auspices, to purchase and rent small holdings. Gratifying progress has been made with the measure establishing eight hours as the legal day in the coal mines, the bill being favored by both Conservatives and Liberals, though for different reasons. More interesting still are the measures to raise the status of children—the discontinuance of the practice of sending persons under sixteen years of age to jail, the establishment of children's courts, the improvement of the supervision of children's asylums and homes, and even the abolition of juvenile smoking! Also of real sociological moment is the House and Town Planning Bill, the work of Mr. John Burns, the veteran Labor leader and President of the Local Government Board. Mr. Burns aims to destroy city slums by constructing new streets and regulating existing roads. Finally, the Port of London Bill would establish a new port authority in London, which will so control river accommodations to shipping as to insure the quick construction of new docks wherever necessary. Parliament's programme is thus one which, if enacted into law, should lift the nation to a greater appreciation of the necessary solidarity of society.

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The Lambeth Conference

Last week at London the Lambeth Conference closed its sessions. The Conference was attended by two hundred and forty-three Anglican bishops, a larger number than at any previous Conference. The subjects for discussion were introduced during the first week of the session by selected speakers, after which committees were appointed to prepare reports. The most important reports dealt with the questions of marriage and divorce, of Socialism, of internationalism, of intercommunion, and of the organization of a central consultative body. The practice of excluding the guilty party in divorce for adultery from the blessing of the Church upon remarriage, the Conference, as reported, would extend by excluding from that privilege even the innocent party. Concerning Socialism the Conference recognized the ideals of brotherhood underlying this democratic movement, and called on the Church to show sympathy for it so far as the movement strives to procure just treatment for all and a real opportunity to live a true human life. The Conference resolved that the social mission and the social principles of Christianity should have more prominence in the teachings of the Church. The resolution declared that property was a trust held for the benefit of the community, and that moral responsibility involved, first, the character and general social effect of any business; second, the treatment of employees; third, the observance of laws relating thereto; and, fourth, the payment of just wages. The international movements for peace and for the abatement of the opium traffic were also commended. Concerning intercommunion, committees were appointed for closer relations with the orthodox Churches of the East. The Conference further declared that

> All races and people, whatever their language and conditions, must be welded into one body, and the organization of different races living side by side into separate or independent churches on the basis of race or color is inconsistent with the vital and essential principle of the unity of Christ's Church.

The English proposal to create a central consultative body or tribunal of reference for the entire Anglican communion, to consist of members representative of but one order of clergy, was opposed by the American and some of the colonial bishops, because they are naturally jealous of the independence of their national Churches belonging to one great communion. Moreover, in the Established Church of England the sovereign authority is not a body, as in the American Church, largely made up of elective representatives, but one in which the laity are not represented. The kind of centralization which may be decided upon at a

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future Conference must provide for adequate representation of bishops, presbyters, and laity, a body exemplified by the Hague Conference and Court, to transform existing friendly relations into more effective instruments. It is impossible for the religious world to resist the kind of centralization to which the social, economic, and political worlds are tending.

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The Riot at Paris

During the past ten days France has met and overcome one more labor crisis, falsely so called. There is no harder-working, more patient, thorough, reasonable laborer than the Frenchman in general and the Parisian in particular. But he is individually more self-assertive than are the workmen across the border or across the Channel. Hence French trade unions are less powerful than those in Germany or England. The pronunciamentos of the French General Confederation of Labor, like those of our American Federation, might lead the uninformed to believe that all labor was represented therein, instead of a fraction of it. The size of the French fraction was shown last week. At a great labor mass-meeting in one of the Paris suburbs the Confederation mobilized about five thousand professional revolutionists. Most of them were armed. They erected barricades and hoisted the red flag in opposition to the tricolor waving over the troops sent by the Government to keep the peace. For hours the soldiers were exposed to the mob's revolver shots. No less than twelve summonses were issued to the assailants to disperse before the order to fire was given. A few insurrectionists were killed and others wounded. They were, of course, acclaimed as martyrs by the mob, which, in front of its Paris headquarters, impaled on a sanguinary pole a pasteboard effigy representing the decapitated head of Premier Clemenceau. Assuming that the movement had become less a protest voicing a labor grievance than a scheme to re-establish the Commune, M. Clemenceau acted with characteristic energy. He arrested the leaders of the Confederation, but not before they had ordered a general strike throughout Paris. Twenty-five thousand men went out instead of the one hundred thousand and more expected by the Confederation. Nor did the twenty-five thousand stay out. The strike had hardly begun before it was ended. It would have had greater success had not the Government meanwhile received a welcome support from a large body of Socialists, whose paper, the Action, said: "Days such as Thursday will soon see the last of this anarchist organization [the Confederation], because the nation wants no civil wars or riots." Opposed to this, however, was the Guerre, the mouthpiece of Gustave Hervé, the anti military agitator. He insisted that a revolution had arrived. If this was revolution, it revolved all the way round; for, thanks to a resolute Government, affairs are where they were. The Government, it should be added, has shown itself as alive to the just demands of labor as it is to the unjust agitation of anarchy and sedition.

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Air-Ships and Flying-Machines

Last week was one of extraordinary interest to all who are following the advances made in air navigation, while the present week bids fair to be of equal importance. The sympathy of the whole world has gone out to Count Zeppelin because of the destruction of his great air-ship. He is now nearly seventy years old, has lived an active life, as is shown by the fact that he served in the Federal army in our Civil War, and still has the vigor and enthusiasm of youth. The German Government and German individual citizens have already, it is reported, put in his hands some four hundred thousand dollars to enable him to continue his work. The air-ship destroyed was the fourth he has built, while the fifth is already well under way. The most notable things about the Zeppelin type of air-ship are, their enormous size, their rigid construction, and the inclosing of a number of comparatively small gas-bags in one large metal (aluminum) cigar-shaped structure. It would be a mistake to think that Count Zeppelin's flight of last week was a failure. It is true that he was trying to maintain his

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air-ship in the air for twenty-four hours without landing, to meet a test proposed by the Government. But, in the first place, he made the extraordinary record of keeping his ship up for twelve hours; in the second place, he made the journey from Lake Constance along the valley of the Rhine, circled Strasburg Cathedral, proceeded to Mainz, and had made good progress on his way back to Lake Constance—altogether more than three hundred miles—and in this beautiful air journey, which was acclaimed by hundreds of thousands of German lookers-on, his air-ship showed remarkable powers of steering and easy management; in the third place, the very fact that he did descend twice (once to the lake, once to solid ground), while it broke the conditions of the test, proved that it is practicable for even so enormous a structure as this to make safe landings, contrary to the often expressed opinion that the landings and risings of such an air-ship could be managed with safety only on a lake. What Count Zeppelin has done in his ten years of arduous work is to prove that a very large dirigible balloon, capable of carrying a number of men, can be sailed, steered, and landed with considerable success. That there will be improvement and advance in this direction is all but certain. In this country smaller dirigible balloons have achieved some remarkable results. Last week at Fort Myer, under Government supervision, tests were begun with Captain Thomas S. Baldwin's dirigible balloon, and although as we write the formal and complete tests of speed, endurance, and ease in maneuvering have not been ended, it is evident that this air-ship is capable of great things—for instance, it has been steered in spiral courses and so as to make the figure 8. Captain Baldwin is to get a prize of $12,000 from the Government if a speed of twenty-four miles an hour is obtained, and $8,000 if a speed of twenty miles is reached. Other air-ships are to submit to Government inspection at Fort Myer, and the officials express confidence that new records will be made as to control, speed, and safety. Still another point of interest for the student of aeronautics is found in the repetition in this country publicly of the flights made not long ago in France by Mr. Farman. His machine, as our readers know, is a true flying-machine, for it is heavier than air and has no balloon adjunct. In France Mr. Farman's aeroplane gained a large money prize by the feat of circling a course one mile and a half in circumference, and he also won a prize for remaining in the air a little over twenty minutes, in which he covered the distance of eleven miles. These are still the records for aeroplane public performances, and it is hoped that Mr. Farman may equal or exceed these feats while in this country. Meanwhile, as we write, it is expected that any day the Wright brothers, who are Americans, may give public exhibitions of their new aeroplane in France, and if the things they are reported to have done in private tests are repeated, the aeroplane records for speed and distance will be left far behind. All these experiments in navigating the air are marvels, and mark large and real advance. It must not be regarded as certain, however, that the day when the air-ship will be a practical and dependable mode of conveyance is near at hand. There are still great problems to be solved, chiefly arising out of the instability of air as compared with the power which can be brought to bear upon it, and the consequent danger from storm and other air conditions. The ordinary balloon has already been used in war for reconnoitering, and the dirigible balloon is now so much more manageable that it evidently has a great future in this direction. It will have its place as a means of surveying an enemy's position, photographing his lines, and foreseeing his intentions. The dreams of some fiction-writers, however, of enormous air-ships which should drop vast quantities of dynamite on an enemy, or convey bodies of troops from point to point, are still far from realization.

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The Death of an Arctic Explorer

Another name is to be added to the long list of those who have perished in their attempts to penetrate the unknown ice-covered region of the North. Mylius Erichsen, a Dane whose

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expedition was supported financially by the Danish Government, had as his mission to chart and explore the northeastern coast of Greenland, which for some distance had never been traversed. The northwestern coast has been quite fully charted by Peary; Nansen's explorations on the northeastern coast were important, but did not reach the most northerly line. Erichsen, according to the meager reports received, was perfectly successful in skirting this unknown tract, and his achievement is one of much importance from the point of view of geographers. It is not quite so clear whether or not he carried out successfully his plan to cross the ice-cap of Greenland at its widest part, where it forms an immense ice dome rising ten thousand feet above the sea and stretching for hundreds of miles. Nansen, it will be remembered, crossed Greenland on the ice, but much further south than the route Erichsen had in view. The story of the death of Erichsen and two men who were with him, a Dane and an Eskimo, is a tragic one. They were caught on an ice-floe in a snow-storm, were blown out to sea, and when the little food they had with them gave out, they were so weakened that when the floe was blown back to the coast two of them had no strength to return to their camp, and died of starvation and cold. The Eskimo alone managed to reach the camp with the dreadful news, but was so exhausted and frozen that he died almost immediately after making his report.

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Public Security in Italy

The recent attack on a party of young Scotch seminarists at Marino, near Rome, calls attention to the general condition of public security in Italy. While strangers continue to enjoy comparative immunity from acts of violence, this immunity is but relative. The general increase of crime has aroused the anxiety of all true-hearted Italians. This increase is revealed by the returns of the latest census. It shows that the number of persons unable to read or write throughout Italy forms one-half of the whole population. Of course northern Italy is comparatively educated and southern Italy comparatively uneducated. In the latter region, of the laboring classes almost all the women and from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the men are unable to sign their names. There is a direct connection between such ignorance and the increase of crime. Criminal statistics show a steady increase in the number of adult offenders, but a greater increase in the number of juvenile criminals, all under twenty-one years of age, the latter increase having actually doubled within the last decade. Some Italians are asking themselves whether their present constitutional régime, granted to a nation unprepared by previous training for its reception, is not over-liberal. In addition, the comparative laxity of the law, indiscriminate free pardons and commutation of sentences, say many Italians, steadily foster the increase of professional criminals.

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Experiments in Democracy

Some idea of the growth of the movement for the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, as measures intended to restore popular government to the people by destroying the control of private influences over legislative bodies, may be gathered from the following statement, which is based on a memorandum on the subject prepared by the National Municipal League: The first State to adopt a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum was South Dakota in 1898. Next came Utah (1900) with an amendment which is not self-executing, and the Legislature has not so far passed the necessary enabling act. Oregon followed in 1902, Montana in 1906, and Oklahoma in 1907. South Dakota, Oregon, and Oklahoma have also extended the constitutional amendments so as to provide for the initiative and referendum in municipal corporations. Maine, Missouri, and North Dakota are soon to vote upon constitutional amendments embodying the initiative and referendum for State matters; and Maine proposes to extend this right to municipal corporations concerning their local affairs. In 1907 Iowa and South Dakota each enacted a gen-

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eral law under which cities may, if they so choose, have charters embodying the general features of the "commission plan of government," and acquire with them the right to have the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. In South Dakota the Constitution specifically gives to the people the right of the initiative and referendum, but in Iowa no mention thereof is made in the Constitution. The Supreme Court of Iowa, however, has held that the statute conferring the right upon cities of a certain class to adopt a commission plan of government which included the initiative, referendum, and recall was constitutional, as the State Constitution did not specifically forbid the granting of these rights. In Texas cities of a designated size can be incorporated by special act, and since Galveston obtained its new form of government several cities of Texas have been given charters by special acts, some embodying the initiative, referendum, and recall, others one or two of these rights, and some none of them or only in a modified form. The recall is the most recent of the three new measures of relief. Los Angeles in 1903 seems to have been the first city to have made the recall a part of its city charter. In 1905 San Diego, San Bernardino, Pasadena, and Fresno, California, followed. In 1906 Seattle joined the list, and in 1907 there were added Everett, in Washington, and six other California cities—Santa Monica, Alameda, Long Beach, Vallejo, Riverside, and San Francisco. In Los Angeles the recall has been used successfully on one occasion. No State has a constitutional provision for the recall, though an attempt, upon initiative petition, was recently made in Oregon, but failed. Some idea of the actual working of these measures may be gathered from the experience of Los Angeles. Municipal Affairs, published by the Los Angeles Municipal League, states that that city has had direct legislation since 1903. In those four years there has been a recall of one councilman, costing $1,000. There has been one referendum at a special election, costing $8,500. There has been one referendum at a general election. And one franchise graft worth $1,000,000 has been allowed to die for fear of a referendum; this cost nothing. The total expense of the law has, therefore, been $9,500, or $2,375 a year; and the total saving at least $1,000,000, or $250,000 a year. As Municipal Affairs says, this expense was "a very modest charge for insurance against legislation disapproved by the people."

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The Law's Delays

Mr. Taft's non-partisan and non-political address before the Virginia Bar Association last week appears, from the fragmentary reports furnished by the daily papers, to have been a perfectly frank recognition of the justice of popular complaints against the law's delays, a fair-minded attempt to ascertain the cause of those delays, and a rational suggestion of the direction in which we are to seek for remedies.

Mr. Taft makes no wholesale condemnation of the courts. His is no appeal to the prejudices of a lay audience against a much-berated profession. It is characteristic that his complaint of the law's delays is addressed, not to the laymen who suffer from them, but to the lawyers who are popularly supposed to profit by them. He recognizes the great and growing dissatisfaction with our judicial processes, and points out with discrimination wherein they are injurious and to what extent:

> I venture to think that one evil which has not attracted the attention of the community at large, but which is likely to grow in importance as the inequality between the poor and the rich in our civilization is studied, is the delay in the administration of justice between individuals. As between two wealthy corporations or two wealthy individual litigants, and where the subject matter of the litigation reaches to tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, our present system, while not perfect, is not so far from proper results as to call for anxiety. The judges of the country, both State and National, are average good men. Venality in our judges is very rare. The inequality that exists in our present administration of justice, and that sooner or later is certain to rise and trouble us, and to call for popular condemnation and reform, is in the unequal burden which the delays and expense of litigation under our system impose on the poor litigant.

So far as civil law is concerned, this seems to us an admirable statement of

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the evil. It is currently reported that there are great corporations which make free use of any patented article which they desire and pay the patentee nothing, or a price they themselves fix upon, and trust to the fact that the ordinary patentee cannot afford the time and money necessary to conduct a successful suit against them. Whether this is true or not, it is believed to be true; and if this abuse were not possible it would not be credited. If legal reform cannot make it absolutely impossible, it can at least make it difficult and dangerous. It would be quite possible, for example, that the Government should prosecute in *quasi* criminal proceedings all violation of patent rights and thus make such abuse more hazardous; quite possible, on the other hand, that any one wishing to use a patent should have a legal right to do so on paying a sum adjudged fair by an impartial tribunal, and thus lessen the temptation to such abuse.

The remedies which Mr. Taft proposes do not constitute a complete and comprehensive scheme of reform, and do not purport to do so. They are suggestions of reforms, rather than a plan of reform. Some of the suggestions, perhaps most of them, have been made before. They include greater expedition by judges in rendering their decisions, the final disposition of all ordinary suits by one appeal, reserving only certain typical cases for the courts of last resort, a reduction of court fees and the substitution therefor of fixed salaries paid by the government, higher qualifications for judges of courts of inferior jurisdiction (to which we may add, higher compensation for their services), and a system of arbitration for the settlement of suits for damages brought by employees against public service corporations.

To these wise recommendations we add some others, borrowed from other sources. First of all is a recognition by the judges themselves that delay of justice is itself injustice. The courts have far too much assumed that leisurely proceeding is essential to wise conclusions. The boy of thirteen whose parent sued the railway corporations for damages, and whose suit was proceeded with in so leisurely a fashion that he came of age before a decision was reached and the proceedings had to be recommenced in his own name, suffered injustice because the courts had too little sense of the value of promptitude. Next is a larger liberty accorded to the trial judge. In England the judge tries the case; the lawyers assist. In America the lawyers try the case; the judge simply sits as umpire to see that the rules of the game are observed. If England gives too great power to the trial judge, America errs in not giving him any power. In appeals the question taken up to the appellate court is too often, not, What is just between the parties? but, Has the game been played according to rule in the court below? "In many of these States," says Mr. George W. Alger in his essay on Criminal Law Reform, "a criminal trial means two things. It means not only the sifting of the evidence of guilt or innocence of an accused person—it means also a rigid school-boy examination of the trial judge on the law. If the accused be found guilty on sufficient evidence, but the judge has not passed a perfect examination, there must be a new trial." This is true also, though in a less degree, of appeals in civil actions.

There is no panacea for the law's delays; but to ignore them lest criticism of the courts undermine the foundations of our government is but the counsel of despair. We are neither to destroy the fabric of jurisprudence reared through so many centuries of experience by wise men, nor to refuse to recognize a right to amend that fabric and make it fitter for the needs of our time and country. The Democratic party, by proposing to provide a jury trial in all cases of contempt of court by deeds done outside its presence, would greatly increase the law's delays in a large class of cases. The Socialist party, by proposing that "all judges be elected by the people for short terms," would practically abolish law altogether, and substitute for an appeal to independent tribunals an appeal to men elected to represent the popular feeling of the moment. The massacres of the French Revolution were not the less essentially lawless that they were perpetrated with the form of law by

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courts constituted for the express purpose of executing the will of the mob. It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that such men as Judge Amidon, Judge Brewer, and Judge Taft are appealing so vigorously to the members of their own profession to unite in working out a law reform which will secure promptitude without sacrificing justice.

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The Mystery of the Sea

You are standing on the beach, looking off upon the ocean. Perhaps a summer storm is throwing up its surface into white-capped waves; perhaps the long, slow billows testify to the greater storm beyond your sight and hearing; perhaps it lies calm and shimmering in the summer sunshine; perhaps a fog creeps over it and hides its surface and the human life upon it from your vision. But in either case and in every case its message is one of mystery. Ask some student to tell you what he has seen beneath its surface. It is a great continent upon which grow forests without roots and flowers innumerable of exquisite beauty that never suffer from drought; through which run rivers with no shores; upon which are seas whose surface is ever tossing in tumultuous confusion. Waste of waters, it is sometimes called. Waste of waters! It is fuller of life than land or air; with great beasts larger than the land knows, and microscopic animals infinite in number. Cruel it is often called, but in truth it is beneficent even in the tragedy of its tempests. For the fogs which brood its surface become the rain-clouds that water the earth; the winds that furrow its surface give healthful movement to the air which but for them would become stagnant and death-dealing; and it is the birthplace of that atmosphere without which life could not exist. The sealess moon is a cloudless moon, and therefore a lifeless moon.

As we stand upon the beach and look upon the ocean, and listen to the message of its mystery, we may, if we will, hear it interpreting the greater mystery of that greater ocean which we call human life. We can see of this life but the merest fragment. We can look only upon its surface; we can comprehend only its most visible and patent phenomena; we can get but glimpses of its deeper meaning. We see the little bays and inlets that lie along the shore, and undertake to sit in judgment upon the vast ocean of which they are but tiny fragments.

It is unjust that this child should begin his life in the slums! How do you know that he began his life in the slums? Are you sure that life begins at the cradle? that there is no other life back of that cradle out of which he emerged into this? It is unjust that this man, who has lived all his life in an atmosphere of crime and superstition, with no Gospel preached to him that he could understand, should go out at death into the darkness of a hopeless night! How do you know that he goes out into the darkness of hopeless night? What revelation has given you the right to say that God's mercy does not endure forever, but stops at the grave? It is unjust that this useful citizen, this great statesman, this indispensable mother, should have life broken off in its prime when so much depends on that life's continuance! How do you know that life is broken off at its prime? How do you know that this statesman is not called to a higher service? that this indispensable mother cannot render greater service to her child through the ministry of the spirit than she ever could tabernacled in the body and hampered by housekeeping cares? It is unjust that one man should go through life with sorrow and suffering his constant companion, another clothed in purple and fine linen, applause and laughter his fellows! Are you sure that this is injustice? Is happiness the best, is sorrow the worst, that can befall a man? There is nothing worth living for but character, and often the tempest is a better developer of character than the sunshine.

"Thy judgments are a great deep." We may well hesitate to sit in judgment on the great deep unless we are quite sure that we have fathomed all its secrets. Science, explaining the mystery of the ocean, and still leaving much of it unexplained, has learned this at least,

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that it is no waste of waters, and no cruel destroyer of life. It is the mother of life, and even the storms that are brooding on its surface are life-giving and life-saving. Philosophy, studying the deeper mystery of human existence, has learned this at least, that much in it which seems most cruel is bravely kind. Perhaps when we know it better we shall see love guiding and governing all its strangely conflicting currents.

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The Three Questions of Life

I—Who Are You?

That seems an easy question to answer; but of all questions it is one of the most difficult. There are a great many people who could not answer it if you put it to them. The story is told of the philosopher Schopenhauer that, while walking abroad during one of his melancholy moods, he almost stumbled over a boy on the street. The boy sprang aside and said, "Who are you?" The philosopher shook his head sadly and answered, "How I wish I knew!" There are a great many of us who do not know who we are: we live in certain houses on certain streets; we pursue certain avocations; but we do not know who we are. But while it happens that a man does not know who he is, his acquaintances know, because, whether we wish it or not, whether we are conscious of it or not, every man is always answering that question. In any assemblage where men of distinction sit together, you pick out one man and ask who he is, and your question is answered by a name. That name is all you wish to know. It tells you *who* that man is because it tells you *what* that man is. Abraham Lincoln means one kind of a man to you, and Aaron Burr means another.

That question is answered very differently at different periods in life. There are two natures in every one, struggling together; sometimes one nature is in the ascendant, sometimes the other, and we are different persons at different times. Re-read that striking psychological story of Edgar Allan Poe, "William Wilson," in which he describes a boy at school in an old Elizabethan manor-house, later at Eton, afterwards at Oxford, and then as a young man in Paris; describes him contending against his better nature personified in another personality: these two boys, looking alike, wearing the same clothes, having the same manners, in constant conflict, the baser nature fighting against the higher nature. Finally, in a moment of passion, the baser boy slays the higher boy, and then he becomes William Wilson. You remember that striking story of Stevenson's, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." If you had asked Dr. Jekyll at the beginning who he was, he would have told you that he was a man of gentle impulses, of scholarship, refinement, and beneficence. If you had asked him that question the day he died, he would have told you that he was a scoundrel; that he was cruel, brutal, and a murderer; and both answers would have been true.

"Who am I?" I am fundamentally what I love. Do I love truth? Then sooner or later I shall become true. Do I love nobility? Then ultimately, with much stumbling and many faltering steps, I shall climb to the height where nobility dwells, above the strife for place and power, above low aims and self-seeking. Where your heart is, there, ultimately, you shall be also.

"Who am I?" I am what I believe. Not what my lips say I believe, but what my character proves I believe. You may repeat a thousand times the Apostles' Creed, beginning "I believe," and yet you may not believe a word of it. It is idle to say that you believe in the forgiveness of sins when in your heart you cannot forgive the friend who unintentionally harms you, or the person who intentionally hurts you. You may declare that you believe in the life of the world to come; but if you live wholly in this life, like the worm in the ground at your feet, then you do not believe it. Character, and character alone, is belief; that is to say, conviction reinforced by will.

And it is not a question of what you

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are to-day; it is a question of what you are becoming. We are all put to the test; but the test is not conformity to moral rules to-day; the test is, "Which way are you going?" You may fall a hundred times and then in the end you may climb to a height never reached by many a man or woman who has never been guilty of an overt sin. What you wish passionately to become, you will ultimately be; and in the strife to become what you wish your real self will emerge.

A gifted man had one great and tragic weakness, as his father had had before him—a man of great distinction and genius, but with a passion for drink. He once said, "I was born with a tiger in my blood." Often he fell terribly because he fell on a great stage, and there were those who spoke of him as a lost soul. But he never ceased to strive, and in the end he overcame. Who was he? At first he was a stained and broken man, on the road, apparently, to complete wreck; at the end he was not only one of the first artists of his time, but a loyal, victorious, generous, inspiring human spirit.

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The Spectator

"If you prefer to travel second-class in Europe, we can fix up your ticket that way," said the manager of a well-known tourist agency to the Spectator, with a slightly disappointed air as of one who habitually dealt with millionaires, but had made an unexpected mistake in classification; "and you will be very comfortable," he added in a solacing tone. The Spectator was buying one of those convenient German books of coupons which take one everywhere and let him stop off anywhere "without formality," and he very much preferred to travel second-class. For, the Spectator's province being to see men and things, he prefers the democratic second to the exclusive first class. The first-class railway traveler in Europe, he has observed, is a lonely man, condemned oftentimes to close confinement with plush cushions as his only companions, or doomed to listen to second or third class talk from well-to-do citizens of his own fair land, which he is temporarily trying to forget. The first-class traveler, too, has a proper sense of his own importance, and is not readily responsive; while the second-class man is almost invariably a democrat at heart, and ready on small encouragement to tell his life-story to the stranger from a foreign land.

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The Spectator, indeed, is so enamored of the second-class compartment that he gave up the one first-class ticket which he had inadvertently allowed to be thrust upon him, and went from the steamer with a chance acquaintance, picked up on the tender, into the car labeled II. The chance acquaintance was interesting in himself. He was one of the *nouveaux riches*, or rather the son of one. His father was a successful American of the department store variety, who was making a fortune in an obscure but prosperous Pennsylvania town. The son had but little aptitude for schooling, apparently, but he had picked up several languages and many odd bits of useful information, had already learned to take excellent care of himself, and was preparing for business life by seeing the world. He had fifty dollars a week spending money, and was making a tour for the purpose, first, of enjoying himself, and incidentally for obtaining knowledge that might come in handy in the department store profession. His practical knowledge was even now abundant, and his conversation sufficiently diverting; but his real use became apparent when a long-bearded, venerable-looking man entered the compartment and asked if there was room for him.

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The venerable stranger proved to be an Austrian Jew, who knew little English, but spoke fluently in a German dialect which the dry-goods linguist could interpret. Little by little his story came out, as confidence was slowly established. Yes, he had lived in America, had been there sixteen years, had several children living there, had had a good business and been successful in it, but now he was leaving all and going—where?

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Home again, to see the scenes of his childhood and youth, and to renew old acquaintance? No, not at all; he was going—to Jerusalem, as a pilgrim! He expected to spend at least two years there, if he lived so long. He was now eighty years of age, though his sturdy frame and vigorous aspect made him look many years younger. He attributed his good health to the fact that he was a vegetarian, and ate but two meals a day. His eyes brightened as he spoke of his joy in being able at last to visit the early home, the sacred city, of his race. His long white beard occasioned a remark. He wore it, he said, because the Torah required it. Why did he not allow his hair to grow long too? Because the Torah did not require it. Why should a man, he was asked, be required to wear his beard long and be permitted to cut his hair short? Ah, that he did not know: there were many commands in his Bible which he could not explain; sufficient for him if he followed them faithfully. Did his sons in America also wear long beards? Alas! no. They had fallen away from the practice of their fathers. And what, pray, was the business in which he had so prospered that he could now, in his old age, afford to visit Jerusalem? He had—kept a saloon in America! This he had sold for five thousand dollars, and henceforth was to work no more. But his saloon, he explained, had been mainly patronized by those of his own race, and he had sold wine, not whisky, to them. He grasped the Spectator's hand fervently as they parted, and gave him his blessing. The Spectator felt as if he had met a Crusader.

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While the second-class cars and their occupants are almost always interesting to the Spectator, they become especially so when these occupants are ladies. Of course in the Continental cars there are compartments reserved for women, but frequently these overflow and the Spectator has an opportunity to study the eternal feminine. Women traveling alone on the Continent are, unfortunately, at a disadvantage, no matter by what class they travel. The Latin races are apparently lacking in chivalry, though in politeness they far outdo the average American. The attitude of many of their men toward an unprotected woman is illustrated by the fact that an American girl who was obliged last year, through the unexpected breaking up of her party, to finish her trip alone, told the Spectator that her experiences were so disagreeable that never again would she travel in Europe. Even Englishmen apparently do not go out of their way to make agreeable the lot of a woman traveling alone. Indeed, an exceptionally intelligent and widely traveled Englishman told the Spectator that when traveling he never under any circumstances spoke to a woman! The Spectator had these facts in mind when a bright-looking English girl took a seat opposite him in a crowded second-class car in Italy. Nevertheless, after a time he ventured to ask if he should adjust a window curtain to the greater comfort of the young lady. The attention was gratefully received, and an agreeable conversation ensued. The young woman had her lunch with her, but nothing to drink, and at a station the Spectator presently got her a glass of lemonade—or what passes for such in Europe. These seemingly harmless attentions, however, attracted special interest on the part of the male passengers in the compartment; and the Spectator fervently hopes that it was not his civility to the young woman which caused an Italian gentleman presently to offer both of them a cigarette from his case! Perhaps it is the custom in Italy for men who wish to smoke in compartments reserved for non-smokers to offer cigarettes to their fellow-passengers, on the principle that if all smoke none can object; at any rate, after receiving a polite declination, the Italian disappeared, and the Spectator guardedly resumed his conversation with the young Englishwoman until her station was reached. He hopes that his action did not cause embarrassment to her; her thanks on leaving indicated that she was pleased; and, in any event, the Spectator will continue his practice of trying to make their journey agreeable to ladies who are compelled to travel alone. But he admits that it is necessary to use much discre-

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tion in order that such attention may not be misinterpreted by other passengers.

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American girls are of course much admired in Europe, not only for their good looks and clever talk, but for a certain dash that seems to differentiate them from the more demure young women of the Continent. They carry themselves and their good clothes with an assured air, as of Romans born; and while sometimes the tone of distinction vanishes when conversation begins, this is too often the case with nobility itself, if report be true. But once in a while one meets a Parisienne who need not fear comparison with even the most modish American girl. Such a one the Spectator was fortunate in having as his vis-à-vis on a little journey out of Paris. Tall, well formed, with perfect features and a marvelous complexion that yet seemed all her own, with magnificent black eyes and hair and eyebrows to match, she was dressed in blue and white, with a red picture hat on her perfectly poised head and not too many rings on her shapely fingers. If any one ever deserved a first-class car, it is she, thought the Spectator; but there she sat opposite him, in a second-class car and with a second-class man by her side! The ordinary Frenchman does not dress in distinguished fashion, whatever may be the case with his wife. And this must be his wife indeed, going with him for a holiday in the country—for almost never a word do they exchange on the whole journey! Where is the French loquacity? Plenty of it in the next compartment. But this radiant creature is content to sit and admire the scenery—and perhaps to be admired by the Spectator—while Monsieur reads a batch of papers. At last, finding something amusing, he passes the sheet to Madame. As she takes the paper its title catches the Spectator's eye. It is—saints defend us!—*L'Indiscret!* But the name may convey a wrong impression to a foreigner. The Spectator insists on believing that *L'Indiscret* is a thoroughly respectable paper with a misleading name.

Second-class tickets are not to be recommended on the European lake and river steamboats, however satisfactory to the student of human nature they may prove on the railways. One wants the freedom of a boat, which is accorded only to passengers of the first class. One sees here perhaps a greater variety of humanity than ashore, though the chances for a passing acquaintance are not so good as in the almost compulsory intimacy of the Continental compartment car. The Spectator has spoken of the lack of dressiness on the part of many Frenchmen; this is more than made up for by the fastidiousness of the occasional dandy. The Spectator remembers one in particular, on the boat that plies between Montreux and Geneva. He presented the most perfect example of the man who lives in outward things and is supremely satisfied with them. He was undeniably extremely handsome; of large, athletic build, with a fine head of curly black hair, a black mustache curled *à la russe*, and a pointed goatee. He was dressed in a blue coat, white trousers creased on the sides, a white vest with black buttons and a double watch-chain, a fancy shirt with deep collar, a very small necktie with a gold pin, white shoes, a Panama hat with his initials embroidered on the band, and gloves of neutral tint; a flower in his buttonhole, a red silk handkerchief just visible, and a silver-headed cane completed the decorative effect. The Spectator had been talking with a philosophical old German who presented the other extreme in dress, when this vision of loveliness appeared. The Spectator remarked that the Frenchman, as he laughed and chatted with his friends, seemed to typify the joy of living as well as anything he had ever seen, and that this was a kind of man that America seldom produced. The German looked, shrugged his shoulders, and said that America was fortunate. "There are too many like that here," he said, "both in France and Germany. Better that a man should live for work, like your millionaires, than for pleasure alone, like ours." The Spectator hopes that ours are learning, like the rest of us, to live for a judicious mixture of both.

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A NAVY FOR PEACE

BY RUFUS F. ZOGBAUM

It will be remembered by The Outlook's readers that Mr. Zogbaum, who is well known to the American public as a painter of naval subjects and also as a recognized authority on naval life and work, accompanied our battle-ship fleet on its great voyage to San Francisco. An article from his pen describing that voyage appeared in The Outlook of May 2 last, under the title "A Fleet in Being."—THE EDITORS.

SOME day peace may prevail upon earth—perhaps even through the violence of war in "the final conquest and exclusive predominance of the race proving itself the most noble, most intelligent, most powerful"—but until Utopian equality pervades mankind, no people, however indubitable its love for peace, may hope to escape, at some time, from one cause or another, the possibility of danger of foreign embroilment.

The United States has taken a foremost place among the nations. Year by year the wealth and power of the country are growing, its trade ever reaching far beyond its territorial limits. The flag of its maritime commerce, surrendered into other hands in the stress of civil war, will surely sweep the seas again. The United States cannot, even if they would, keep apart and alone in the march of the nations, and consideration for the interests of the American people, as influenced by or conflicting with those of other countries, compels participation in matters of international concern.

Never before in history have civilized peoples maintained such great armaments by sea and land. Whether, as humanity is now constituted, general disarmament would conduce to peace among the nations is a debatable question. But it is an uncontrovertible fact that all the great powers—not only of the Occident, but also a brave, highly intelligent, intensely patriotic people of the Orient—refuse to disarm, and continue to support great armies and navies, equipped with weapons and engines of warfare of ever-increasing power of devastation. While such conditions prevail, Americans can not ignore their portentous possibilities, and the United States must confront them with counter-preparation of force, ready and strong enough to insure protection against war through very preparedness to make it.

In the far-extended coast line on two oceans, separated by three thousand miles of territory—and, until the completion of the Panama Canal, accessible by sea from one to the other only by the practical circumnavigation of a continent—lies what is most vulnerable in the geographical position of the United States. The best defense lies in the ability to prevent or divert hostile aggression; obviously, under the circumstances, a navy gives the most adequate means to that end. And it must be a navy not merely in the provision of material alone—in ships, in guns, in supplies and resources; the most powerful of war vessels, with the best of motive power and armament, the most improved of mechanical appliances and devices, would be worthless in the "crucial test of battle" except in the hands of those proficient to the highest degree in their use. The practical application of the work of its preparation for war—the training and discipline of its personnel, the exercises in gunnery, torpedoes, and fleet evolutions and tactics—must always be found in the ships and in the fleet; there is the fighting force, with the burden of active service afloat, with the performance of all duties incumbent on all hands, from the Commander-in-Chief to Jack-o'-the-Dust. The theoretical work of preparation—the making of plans, the acquirement of information as to the relative strength of possible opponents, the study of strategy and tactics, and of the art of war in general and of war by sea in particular—is of equally vital importance; the neglect of one weakens the strength and depreciates the value of the other. In these days of constant development of natural forces and energies, when distance and the stretch of oceans serve but

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slightly as protective factors, no time remains for plans and preparations once the hostile storm-cloud rises, and there is no surer invitation to the evils and miseries of war than lack of readiness and means to meet them.

For the American people there is no sounder guarantee of peace than in the maintenance of an active, mobile navy, always so ready and formidable as to render attack upon the shores of the United States futile, through the power to seek out upon the sea and disable or destroy any enemy bold enough to attempt it. I believe that the despatch of the Atlantic battle-fleet to the Pacific was a wise move on the part of the President, and that the coming visit of our ships to a kindred people of the antipodes—speaking the same language as our own, and facing, in their relations with alien races, similar conditions to those which confront us, and which, unless controlled by timely precaution and intelligent and tactful forethought, might eventually prove inimical to the domestic and commercial interests of both peoples—will still further make for peace.

Taken as individuals and as a class, the officers of the navy of the United States are the peers—through the severe test of the course at the Naval Academy possibly the superiors in preparatory education—of any in the world, and to their faithfulness to their trust, to their spirit of intelligent progressiveness in what pertains to the broad acquirement of knowledge of their profession, is due the steady advance of the Service towards always higher standards of efficiency. But though trained for war, first and always, familiarity with questions of law and comity, as affecting the intercourse and relations of nations with one another, forms an important part of the education of the naval officer, and to him not only fall the duties of seaman and engineer, artilleryman, ordnance expert, and electrician, but he must be, in a measure, a diplomat as well. If the time comes, it is his duty to strike hard, waging war with all the strength and power given into his hands, yet his very knowledge of what war means impels him to be a man for peace; and, more than once, the conspicuous ability with which our naval officers, brought face to face with an unforeseen emergency when hasty or ignorant action might disturb the tranquillity of the Nation, have handled delicate and difficult situations, has called forth cordial expression of appreciation by the head of the Department of State. It is, however, in the friendly visits of our war-ships to foreign peoples that our officers—and in these times our bluejackets to a certain extent, be it said—serve as agents of great value in the promotion of international good will. Ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary hold their intercourse with the heads of the governments to which they are accredited; the people on our ships meet and come more or less in touch with the people of the country of which they are the guests. That this was so to an unusual degree was manifest during the cruise of the battle-ships of the Atlantic fleet along both coasts of South America. When but comparatively few of the inhabitants of any important seaport are directly or personally affected by the occasional stay of foreign war vessels in their waters, the friendly comings into their harbors of the American fleet, consisting of such an aggregation of powerful ships with the thousands of their crews, were unprecedented events of such importance as to arouse the interest of practically the entire people of the countries visited. Public functions, where hundreds of our officers came in contact not only with high-ranking government officials and with their military and naval colleagues, but with representative civilians as well, led to friendly social relations and to the interchange of hospitality through festive gatherings on the land and the visits of the people there to the ships. Our bluejackets were everywhere in conspicuous evidence ashore, going on "liberty" almost daily, literally by the thousands, and the generally admirable conduct of these men (although the apparently inevitable exception to the rule was not always wanting) was, I believe, a strong factor in the promotion of the friendly feeling towards Americans and the fleet displayed on the part of the mass of the people in the ports called at. It seems to me that the opportunities afforded

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in the friendly visits of our fleet to other peoples—irrespective of race or form of government—of better knowledge and appreciation of one another, through acquaintance among individuals in such great number, will do as much towards creating sentiments of mutual respect and good will as official receptions, however cordial in welcome and lavish in entertainment they may be.

With the evolution of the war-ship a great change has come about in the condition and environment of the man-of-war's-man, and the duties of the bluejacket of to-day require education and training of a nature differing in so many respects from that of his forebears as almost to baffle comparison. In the "days of heave and haul" recruits for the navy were drawn largely from the merchant marine, and the transformation of an ordinary "tarry-handed waif of the sea," already familiar with the life of the ocean, into a smart man-of-war's-man was a question of no great difficulty. There were many splendid men among them (and even yet some fine veteran sailormen, survivors of the old navy, honor the warrant and chief petty-officer grades of the new), but as to whether the enlisted man was a Portuguese, Dutch, or Swede, or of any other nationality, mattered little then, so long as he was a sailor and "could pass the doctor."

Nowadays the men of the crews of our ships are Americans—the very great majority of them native born; *all* must be citizens.

The young men of the enlisted force of the navy at the present time form a very good representation, in point of character, physical and mental attributes, of the mass of the so-called working people of the Nation. Great numbers of them come from decent homes and are the sons of worthy and respectable parents, and they are recruited for the service, not only from what there is of seafaring population of the country alone, but from all parts of the United States, whether bordering on the oceans and the great fresh-water seas or spreading in the hills and plains of the interior. One of the best all-around young sailormen I ever knew hailed from Nebraska, and, until his enlistment, the little he had learned about ships and the sea was confined to what was picked up from pictures and descriptions in books and periodicals.

The crew of a war-ship of the present time comprises men of many different crafts. Seamen, who man the guns in turret and casemate, form the main fighting force of the ship, manage her every movement; electricians at dynamo, searchlight, and aerial telegraph; the men of the "black gang" in engine and fire-rooms; yeomen, the keepers of stores and accounts, clerks and stenographers; machinists, plumbers, painters, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, boilermakers, shipwrights and carpenters, are among the occupations of those who "go down to the sea" in battle-ships of to-day. While there are many men in the service who, prior to their enlistment, possessed some mechanical trade, a large number of those filling positions aboard ship, where skill in some such occupation is a requisite, have been taught what they know in the navy. Most recruits, enlisted as apprentice seamen or as landsmen, are quite young men—anywhere from eighteen to twenty years of age—and, in a very great number of cases, have but little or no knowledge of any technical calling. To many of them opportunity comes with environment, and any man, well conducted and faithful in his duties, who shows aptitude for any of the various handicrafts as applied to naval purposes, is sure to meet with encouragement and help in its study. Combined with the influence of discipline, the habit of order, and the surroundings of a clean, wholesome life, many a young bluejacket has acquired knowledge and skill that have stood him in good stead when, the term of his enlistment ended, he has returned to civil life; and all over the land there are men in the employment of industrial concerns—notably where practical experience in the use of electrical power is desirable—whose first instruction in their trades came to them through service on National ships.

In the education of the bluejacket, however, the possible development of skill in some technical calling useful in civil life is merely incidental. The true purpose of his training is to make of

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him "a handy man," quick, ready, and resourceful in the use of the tools with which he works; an American citizen faithful to his oath of enlistment, rendering cheerful and intelligent obedience to the lawful orders of his superiors, and, in whatever capacity he is serving, loyal to the country and his duty, even to the sacrifice of his own life.

Such would be the ideal man-of-war's-man; and there is no exaggeration in the statement that there are hundreds of men wearing the chevrons of the petty officer or the white tape of the bluejacket on their sleeves, simple, brave fellows, serving the flag on our ships to-day, of whom nothing more true could be said. These, mostly, are the men—would that there were more of them!—who make of their service in the navy a permanent occupation. Bred to the sea, theirs is a life apart. Though some of them have ties ashore, wives and children maybe, their real home is the ship, and in their personal touch with their shipmates in the great community of the crew the influence of their experience and example is a powerful factor in the promotion of efficiency as bluejackets of the young men whose service in the navy is limited to one or two enlistments.

The bulk of the enlisted personnel is made up of young men who "join the navy" from one cause or another—a spirit of adventure or characteristic restlessness; some, no doubt, from stress of poverty—and the average young American of the kind of which the mass of the recruits consists, accustomed in his upbringing to restraint of but a mild nature, has only a slight conception, on entering the service, of the actual conditions and duties of the life before him. Yet the discipline of the navy—one of law, and the observance of the solemn oath to conform to it incumbent upon officers and men alike—though strict, is neither harsh nor unbearable to the normal man; and while punishment follows infraction of its rules, the rights of all, commander-in-chief or bluejacket, are safely guarded.

Among the thirty-odd thousand enlisted men of the navy there are bound to be, even with the care taken in recruiting, a certain number of weak and a few vicious characters. These are the men to whom the restraints of discipline come hard, and from these—notably among the first mentioned, and mainly during the first enlistment—spring most of those who, faithless to their oath, commit the crime of desertion. And it is through the ill conduct of the few, conspicuous in the uniform they disgrace, that many good people, ignorant of the true conditions, receive erroneous impressions of the general character of the whole.

The enlisted men of our navy are better fed, better cared for, better treated, and, finally, better paid than those of any other service on the seas. The relations of officer to man and man to officer are, I believe, closer and on a footing of more human understanding than in most, if not all, other navies. There is not as much *etiquette*, perhaps, in the intercourse of commissioned and enlisted personnel; but if discipline means the ready, quick, intelligent obedience of subordinate to superior, then the men of the navy of the United States are disciplined men.

Taking him by and large, the American bluejacket of to-day is a clean, decent man, sturdily and properly independent, respecting himself and others and with a high sense of honor and duty as he sees it—a good citizen because of his trained obedience to the law. To my mind the United States possesses in her navy a sea personnel which in intelligence, progressive spirit, and the will to serve the country is second to none and superior to most.

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ENGLISH SOCIALISM AND THE UNIVERSITIES

BY A. R. WILLIAMS

WITH what amazement would the Oxford Vice-Chancellors of the past have viewed the spectacle which their successor beheld at the close of the last Michaelmas term! For they would have seen their dons and students in gowns joining with the local Socialists and the workmen from Ruskin Hall to make the classic walls of famous Balliol College re-echo with that hymn of the Revolution:

"We'll raise the scarlet standard high,
Within its shade we'll live and die.
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

Surely John Bright could no longer characterize Oxford as the "home of dead languages and undying prejudice." This language is certainly very much alive, and some prejudices are very dead indeed.

One can understand this new change in the academic atmosphere only as he understands the new ferment in the nation; and this ferment is Socialism—a militant, aggressive, wide-sweeping Socialism. The visitor senses the difference here at once.

In America, regardless of the facts, Socialism is looked upon as an exotic, a virulent importation fostered only under foreign tyranny, and destined to find a natural death in the alien atmosphere of our glorious free institutions. In those quarters where he is not regarded as passing through a temporary insanity the Socialist endures more or less of a bantering persecution, while his outbreaks are as grievous to his friends as their exuberant ignorance upon the subject is painful to him. The path of peace is to suffer his Socialistic soul to grow in silence—a course which he rarely or never pursues.

For such a one, England, where the whole country breathes the new spirit, is a more congenial clime. No longer is the stolid conservatism of the English worker the deep despair of the Continental Socialist. Socialism has come to him at last, and come with a vengeance. The last general election, which carried thirty laborists into Parliament, seems to have been simply the opening of a campaign which has been waging fiercely ever since. Nearly every city or town has its recruiting center for the new party, which regards politics as something other than a game.

On every hand the fact of Socialism rises up to meet one. It stares one in the face from the bill-boards, smites one in the ear from gramophones, and haunts the reader through every journal.

Jerome K. Jerome, in a recent address upon "The Troubles of a Well-Fed Man," told how the contrast between Belgravia and Whitechapel had driven him into Socialism; and thus one more of the literati is added to that brilliant group of London Socialists.

In Labor Halls and at the City Temple in London under the banner of the New Theology the Rev. R. J. Campbell identifies the aims of Christianity and Socialism; at the famous West London Mission the Rev. J. Earnest Rattenbury expounds to immense audiences the concomitance of Socialism and the Old Theology; and at St. Paul's Cathedral Canon Scott Holland, representative of many prominent Anglican clergy, pleads its cause with eloquence. In a recent speech Mr. Balfour announced that the only question was Socialism or non-Socialism, and said that the parties must divide upon that issue.

All this has terribly frightened the Conservatives, and their press, arming itself with the general imbecilities which popularly parade as anti-Socialist arguments, daily calls upon the nation to rise up and cast out the fearful monster. Seventy Liberty and Property Defense Leagues in desperate union have raised the cry of Socialism, Atheism, and Free Love, to which the Socialists have replied with a repudiation of the theories and a

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list of the opposition who identified themselves with the practices.

Into the remotest district Socialist speakers on traveling vans herald the coming of the new age, while the gramophones of the opposition, provokingly self-possessed, grind out their defense of things as they are, unmindful of the rebellious questioning crowd.

This new uprising of the national sentiment has had a direct influence in the university. Never has the undergraduate world here been so sensitively reflective of and so sympathetically responsive to such a proletarian agitation outside. Each of the historic universities has large and influential Socialist groups. With its Socialist Labor parties, its forty Socialist Labor leaders at Ruskin Hall, its Socialist book-shop, its Socialist rector in the city church, and all sorts of university Socialist societies, Oxford is a little Socialistic cosmos in itself—quite different from the days when William Morris was as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Characteristically if we deem her less idealistic than Oxford, or strangely if we deem her more modernized than Oxford, Cambridge has not been so exuberant in her welcome to the new cause. Yet the students who have signed the Fabian basis number, approximately, one hundred—about the same as the Oxford Society; and of course in addition to this there are a large number of associates.

The dominance of the Established Church in the university naturally compels an inquirer to find its relation to any movement he wishes to understand. In this case, with surprising alacrity, it has adapted itself to the new situation, and among the strongest branches of the Christian Social Union are those of the universities.

In Oxford there are four divisions of this organization—the university branch registering four hundred members resident and eight hundred non-resident, composed mainly of Liberals and Conservatives. It holds that the "mission of a Catholic Church is to be the main mover in sound social reform." The significant fact is that the leaders are enthusiastic out-and-out Socialists. It is despised, however, by some as the home of an emasculated Socialism, furnishing a sort of half-way house for disturbed social consciences on their flight to true Socialism, which, had they not found ease here, would never have rested until they found peace in the true faith. But this stricture seems altogether too severe. Instead of being the stopping-place for these spirits on their flight towards Socialism, it is rather the brooding-ground for them.

Without bringing accusation of Jesuitry against the leaders of the Christian Social Union because so many are High Churchmen, the diplomatic procedure by which the novitiate is subtly innoculated with the Socialistic views calls for a genuine admiration. This university branch issues its own series of pamphlets and pursues various lines of action. In the first place, quite in accord with conventional individualism, the member of this revolutionary body is urged in a pamphlet to behave like a Christian towards his "scout" or landlady by keeping reasonable hours, not entertaining on Sundays or "in other ways giving unnecessary trouble to hard-working and sometimes underpaid servants"—to be sure, a very mild sort of revolutionism, and not greatly different from that inculcated by any conscientious curate at home.

Then comes a list of works calculated to disturb the ease of mind about things as they are. These include anything from books like "Alton Locke" to treatises on "Lead Poisoning in Modern Industry" and "The Iniquities of the Wage System."

The student coming up with any of the irrelevant or vapid criticisms regarding trades unionism has placed in his hand a white list of all the firms which observe the standard regulations in each trade, as approved by the trade union secretary. These are listed as deserving of patronage, and the resentment engendered by dropping the name of a firm is sufficient proof that it accomplishes its work.

Finally, these members sent up their delegates to the last general convention of the Christian Social Union, which discussed the question of the unemployed.

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Here the Socialist leaders received their reward for their untiring strategy.

After proposing certain measures of alleviation, the resolution that "the only solution of the problem lies in the radical reconstruction of the existing basis of society" was passed. Think of the influence that the acceptance and even tacit approval of such a report must have upon these men of a conservative lineage! Gradually their prejudices have been demolished, and, with trust in their splendid leaders, they accept a manifesto which, had it been presented point blank at first, would have met with sarcastic rejection.

To be more inclusive than a church organization and to satisfy those ardent Socialists who wanted something more revolutionary, a Fabian Society was formed.

This is the historic order of events in Cambridge, where the Fabian Society has been recently organized. But in Oxford, Sidney Ball, the senior tutor of St. John's College, incarnating the spirit of John Ball, that faithful priest of the Peasants' Revolt for many years, has gathered round him a small nucleus which now he sees grown into a party of commanding position and prominence. The early Ball ended his Socialistic career by being impaled on a stake and quartered alive. Customs have much changed in Oxford. To-day's revolutionist of like name will be rewarded (so it is said) by the highest office in the college. He is quite typical of a large number of first-rank fellows who are allied with the party. Perhaps no organization in Oxford can boast of such an array of distinguished students as can the Fabian Society. One of the most indefatigable workers is the Secretary of the Society, the future Lord Ribblesdale, heir to a large estate and with a passion for humanity. Even at Eton he produced Socialist tracts, and now as an Oxford undergraduate is often in the councils of the Independent Labor Party and is a speaker for the trade unionists. From such books as "Tom Brown at Oxford" it is possible to picture a nobleman's room on a winter's afternoon as the rendezvous of an idling crowd of good fellows with plenty of stimulants to song and joviality. But on the afternoon of my visit the discussion was not upon the merits of the latest race or stage favorite, but the evils of the Living-In system, the boarding of shop-girls for five shillings a week and the truckling to university trade by storekeepers who shielded the student and let the girl bear her own disgrace, against all of which this modern nobleman waxed most bitter.

He was estimating the effects of the university upon the trade conditions of Oxford, and had as his guest for the afternoon a young barber's assistant whose agitation for reform had cost him dismissal from various shops, but had procured for him a vast variety of information, which was duly transferred to paper.

The Fabian Society exists chiefly for propaganda in the university, and to this end brings up prominent speakers during term. But to supplement this, and to meet the anxious spirit of inquiry, associations like the Orthodox Club of Balliol College have arisen. This has a membership of about forty, and though all members are not avowedly Socialist, it is animated by such scholars as the Bishop of Manchester's son, who is a Socialist, as are his two brothers. While members of the Fabian Society speak before non-university bodies and while its members enter into great public debates in different cities, the main business of the Society is the spread of its principles to the universities.

The Fabian Society and the Christian Social Union, uniting with the city Socialists, held, last term, a three days' Sweated Industries Exhibition, which was visited by thousands. The long hours of work, the unsanitary conditions of workshops, and the low wages were pictorially represented by the display of hundreds of articles made under these adverse conditions. Garment-making conditions have certainly not improved since the day when Kingsley wrote "Cheap Clothes and Nasty."

These hovels where dainty garments are made were luridly pictured on lantern-slides, while eleven inmates from sweaters' dens, as they plied their tasks, furnished very tangible and living evi-

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dence. These unfortunate victims, exposed as they were to the vulgar gaze of the crowd, furnished, no doubt, a new and unique form of entertainment to some of the spectators. The necessity of this was lamented by some of the officials, but it most startlingly brought home to a calloused and indifferent public the viciousness of the present industrial system. For example, the rather large clerical constituency of Oxford was treated to the sight of a woman folding Bible sheets at the rate of a shilling a day, thus being afforded a new standpoint from which to judge the propagation of the Gospels.

Leading Socialist speakers addressed the meetings, and, including Lord Milner, the consensus of opinion was that a temporary expedient might be found in the establishment of Minimum Wages Boards.

In Cambridge the work has leaped forward since the "ragging" of Keir Hardie, the labor chieftain of England.

The meeting was planned by the city and university societies, whereupon the university men generally decided to stop it. In the affray a cab was smashed to pieces, a student disguised as the venerated leader was hustled away by the opposition and locked into a room, and, in the meantime, after his dinner, Keir Hardie proceeded to the hall, where he was surrounded by three hundred trade unionists. Somewhat chagrined at such an issue, the insurgent students allowed the meeting to proceed, but with considerable interruptions, such as eggs and chemicals. The net result was a closer and more sympathetic union between the Socialists of the city and the University, and the formation of a Labor Representation Committee for the promotion of the political cause in which the university men fight for the local labor candidates.

In connection with the lively agitation for woman's suffrage now going on in England it is worth noting that in Oxford and Cambridge, which will not grant degrees to the students of the affiliated women's colleges, the Fabian Society is the only organization which admits women on the same terms as men. Recently, in a debate in the women's colleges, a sweeping resolution in favor of Socialism was carried.

To show how these new influences have all combined to produce a radically new attitude at the universities, one need only look at the reports of the debates held in the Union Societies. Both universities have debated upon their relation to the nation, and both have carried the resolution that they were not sufficiently in touch with the country, however much that may mean. Oxford, for the first time in its history, has this last term declared by a vote of 260–270 in favor of Disestablishment, voted against the directors in the recent railway dispute, and, by a large majority, against the resolution "that, in the opinion of this house, the rapid growth of militant Socialism constitutes a grave danger to the Empire." The note struck was the uselessness of talking about Empire "when the canker of poverty is at the heart of it."

But it is not in this or that vote on a specific resolution that we can find the exact attitude of the university at large, for after all the majority of men do not attend the debates, and the revolutionists are always more aggressive than the upholders of the present régime. It is rather found in the attentive hearing which is accorded any speaker who strikes the note of sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the masses, "no longer, as in former days, eliciting applause by a mere rhetorical turn or clever classical quotation."

Various elements have contributed to produce this new movement in the universities. In the first place, constant agitation has forced attention upon the most indifferent, and he who plays the rôle of antagonist must study the question. Without the assumption that a man who knows conditions and lays them to heart inevitably becomes a Socialist if he is not a natural born fool, it remains a fact that an ever-increasing proportion of people who investigate poverty and its evils find the only solution in Socialism. Thus, in the universities there exist no societies which investigate the economic evils of the day and look for the solution of the problem in a more competitive form of industry.

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Agitation awakens interest, and interest leads to knowledge, and knowledge makes Socialists.

In the second place, the much-maligned university settlements have been avenues of approach for some men. In the midst of the underworld, the settlements have served as a sort of pleasant citadels from which to view the havoc wrought in the industrial strife. They have been sometimes watch-towers rather than light-houses. But if the altruists therein have not illuminated the ignorance of the masses, the masses have illuminated the ignorance of the altruists, and there is a great change in the outlook upon the social question.

A prosperous London merchant who does his duty to that weltering mass of poverty in the East End by running the usual combination mission and soup-house was raging against a certain settlement. "An abomination," he said; "it's a regular hotbed of rank Socialism." Then he related how he punished them for their apostasy by helping to cut off their funds. Residents in that settlement for three weeks revealed that they had hopelessly lost their faith in regenerating society by pouring tea at mothers' meetings, running art classes for factory girls, giving Browning or "character" talks to the derelict in the lodging-house annex, and declaring that the love of drink is the root of all evil.

From this conception of the finality of their mission they have apostatized variously to the Borough Council on the Socialist ticket, to the Committee on the Unemployed, to the local Social Democratic Federation platform, and to membership in the various Socialist societies.

The visitor from the university to the settlement now finds a new attitude prevailing. The adherents to the old palliatives are still there, but with them there is another group who are Socialistic, and these, by the very audacity of their ideas, attract the new men. To sit at dinner in Toynbee Hall and have the mild, scholastic-looking individual on the right open the conversation with a lament about the present impossibility of a revolution in England at least tends to make one think, and from such first thoughts are resulting readjustments of the undergraduate's outlook on society.

In the third place, this new interest has been roused by certain sections of the Socialistic party directly forcing the issue into the universities.

The Cambridge Review, discussing university reform, quotes the words of a speaker last summer: "Don't think I come here to ask favors for my class; I come to demand your ancient endowments as a right." The two universities scarcely ever draw their students from the working class, and are almost entirely divorced from its influence, though Socialist dons and others are trying to change these conditions.

A fairly good system of university extension lectures is now provided for many cities and factory districts. But with the knowledge that the many scholarships were founded for the needy and with the realization that it is the worker who is really supplying the university treasurer, it will be interesting to note the effect that the rise of the social democracy will have upon the universities. It is hardly to be expected that the present system of educational doles will be altogether satisfactory. A writer has advocated the establishment at Cambridge of a workingman's college similar to Ruskin Hall at Oxford.

The trades unions and other societies send up their picked men to study economics and history for a year or two years at Oxford. What trade unionism is to be in the future is best indicated by the fact that fully four-fifths of these men are Socialists, and, coming up with any predilections in that direction, they only get intrenched in their position through the teaching of the splendid staff of young economists. Unlike the labor movement in America, which has been continually drained of its best men, not one of these men trained at Oxford has been lost to his class. Each man has gone back to his trade to raise his class, not to rise out of it. They have been received into the Union Debating Society, and on the resolution that "This Society would view with favor the advent of a Labor ministry," a Glasgow steel-smelter and a Welsh miner were pitted against men

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from University and Oriel Colleges. In fluency and facts one could not but feel that the workers had the best of it.

But caste is so mighty that only a few men in Oxford really have any fellowship with these proletarian students, who, keenly conscious of their new political power, resent anything which smacks of patronage. Thus the presence of working-class leaders in Oxford and the demand for education upon Cambridge has, in a special way, forced the question of Socialism into the universities.

In the last place, the movement has gathered round some of these strong personalities which have been mentioned above. Being scholars of the first rank, their high position, coupled with their moral passion, has compelled attention and commanded admiration, and capitulation has followed all along the line.

The critics say that the desire to share the reflected glory by alliance with these men has lured into the Socialist lines many who know not what they are doing. Hence it is dismissed as merely a fashion, or a sort of a hectic flush upon the souls of young men who, growing morbid over present evils, accept Socialism as they would any other beautiful and visionary scheme which uttered the magic word Utopia and then pronounced everything good. Or, again, the fascination which the heterodox position ever exerts is accounted sufficient to explain the wonderful growth in the university. Hence it is looked at as an affectation.

The test of a cause is the tenacity of its followers in its time of trial. Very few Socialists have as yet gone down from the university, but the enthusiasm manifested by these few in starting various branches and fighting for them in the most unfavorable conditions is a hopeful index of the future.

Among the sodden masses of slumdom Socialism, like any other high ideal which calls for sacrifice, is non-existent; but even here the university men are working. By street preaching in the worst of these neighborhoods in the East End, one of these men, a lawyer, struggles to add new converts to his little group, which forms a branch of the Labor party. But the process is painfully slow and depressing. After an explication of the new doctrine, he summons his hearers to rise in their manhood and strike at the fetters of slavery by joining with them in the common service of liberation of humanity from oppression, tyranny, and wrong. "Come forward and sign the manifesto of your deliverance." The crowd disperses, and his reward is too often only some drink-soaked victim coming forward and requesting tuppence for a glass of beer. If a man's Socialism at the university has been merely a fashionable affectation, a few experiences like that will soon blight it. But it does last.

We have dealt mainly with the ancient universities, because the movement is strong among those on the upper social plane.

In London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow the Fabian Societies number about fifty members each. The new universities of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds, as they are seeking endowments, are not over-zealous about waving the red flag. Then the students do not have a corporate life enough to foster such organizations. Furthermore, many are struggling for their own education and are unable to cherish ideals, or are striving to lift themselves to another social plane. And, as in America, consciously or unconsciously, in their effort to sidle into society some do not want to betray proletarian origin by any taint of association with a movement offensive to social superiors. However, small societies are forming, and Manchester, which produced Victor Grayson, the member of Parliament who won on a most radical Socialist platform, has a good society.

Thus far the working class seems to have given a hearty welcome to its academic champions, and their intelligent enthusiasm must undoubtedly lend a new force to the propaganda. But, however great may be the influence of university Socialism upon the movement at large, it will perhaps have greater influence upon the universities themselves. A very enthusiastic clergyman, writing to a Congregational paper, states that in his district Socialism has done more to save men from sin and selfishness than all the missions and revivals. This may

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or may not be true. But in the universities the acceptance of this new social philosophy ought to have a tremendous effect in clarifying the moral atmosphere.

The old individualism called upon the prodigal youth to refrain from the ordinary excesses and self-indulgences for the sake of his own salvation, or at most the influence of his example upon others. But he was not always anxious about his own welfare, and his example to others was rather shadowy. The affair is no longer nebulous. However much he may regret the necessity of the fact, as a Socialist he knows that he is in the university by sufferance of the workers, and every extra lot of clothes, or wines, or useless extravagance, is just so much extra wrested away from the producers of it. What might be the result if this fact became a grim reality to every man?

SUMMER VESPER SERMONS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

WHAT IS A CHRISTIAN?

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.—Matt. vii. 21.

FOUR men are sitting around an open fire in a little inn on the Atlantic coast in the month of February. Their names are Skepticism, Orthodoxy, Emotionalism, and Practice. A furious storm is raging without; the wind is howling and shrieking through the village streets; the rain is beating in great sheets upon the window-panes; the surf is thundering upon the beach. Suddenly the door is flung open, and a man enters. "Help! help!" he cries; "a ship has struck upon the bar outside. We need some hands to aid in rescuing them!"

Skepticism begins to question. "We do not know," he says, "who you are, or what is your authority. We do not know what is your relation to the Government or the life-saving station, or how much of an expert you are in managing a boat; we do not know what you can do, or what sort of a leader you would make." And Skepticism sits still.

Orthodoxy rebukes Skepticism. "Your doubts are unreasonable and unnatural," he says; "the earnestness of this man is shown by his whole demeanor; you can see that he has come from the beach by the salt spray upon his hair and garments; there can be no question of his right to speak and call for help." But Orthodoxy sits still.

Emotionalism begins to wring his hands. "Alas!" he cries, "what a terrible tragedy is this, and how splendid is the character of this man who is seeking to save those who are lost; how we should join our voices in praise to him!" And he begins to sing "Rescue the perishing." But Emotionalism sits still.

Meanwhile Practice has arisen and taken down his coat from the wall and is buttoning it about his throat. "Come on, stranger," he says. "I do not know much about you, and I do not know whether I can be of any use; but if there are lives in peril, I will go out and see what I can do to help."

Twenty centuries ago the Man of Nazareth appeared in a province of Rome. The world was full of woe, and he had come, he said, to succor it. In many a message he defined the purpose of his coming; in none more clearly and concisely than in the first recorded sermon which he preached in the synagogue of Nazareth, where he had been brought up:

And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. And he closed the book, and gave it again to the attendant, and sat down. And the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened

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on him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears.

This is what Jesus Christ came to do. This is what in his too short life he did. He went about doing good. We have been so busy discussing his relation to the Infinite, the nature of his power, the question whether he performed the miracles attributed to him, that we have too often forgotten to consider the spirit by which he was actuated. Whatever his powers were, they were used in helpful service. If men were hungry, he fed them; if they were sick, he healed them; if they were ignorant, he taught them; if they were in despair, he gave them hope; if they were burdened by the sense of sin and the fear of penalty, he told them that their sins were forgiven them, and bade them go in peace and sin no more.

He bade his disciples do the same work that he was doing. Once he sent twelve out; at another time seventy. This was his commission to them: "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give." After his death and resurrection he repeated this commission to his disciples: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Spirit. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."

What is it to be a Christian? Clearly, to accept this commission, receive this spirit of healthful love, take part in this work to which he summons his disciples.

We have a right to ask, What is Christ's relation to the Father? what his authority as teacher and lawgiver? what was his power when upon the earth? what is his power now? These are not useless questions. But we do not need to get an answer to these questions before we engage in the work to which he calls us.

It is well to formulate our answers to these questions when we think we have found them. A few weeks ago, Republican leaders met in Chicago, and embodied what they regarded as Republican principles in a platform, and nominated a candidate for the Presidency. A little later, Democratic leaders met in Denver, and formulated what they regarded as Democratic principles in a platform, and nominated a candidate for the Presidency. Three centuries and a half ago Christian leaders met at Westminster, and formulated what they regarded as Christian principles in a platform which is known as the Westminster Confession of Faith. In order to be a Republican it is not necessary to agree with all the principles in the Republican platform; it is only necessary to believe that Mr. Taft will make a good President, and to work for his election. To be a Democrat it is not necessary to believe in all the principles of the Democratic platform; it is only necessary to believe that Mr. Bryan will make a good President, and to work for his election. To be a Christian it is not necessary to believe in all the principles embodied in the Westminster Confession of Faith, or the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church, or the Twenty-five Articles of the Methodist Church, or the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance, or the Dogmatic Decrees of the Council of Trent, or the earlier symbols known as the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. What is necessary is to believe that what Jesus Christ has come to do in the world is worth doing; to believe that the spirit in which he has undertaken that work is worth having; and, receiving that spirit from him, to give ourselves to the work to which he calls us. It is so to carry on our business that our industrial work will be glad tidings to the poor; so to carry on our social life that our hopefulness will be comfort to the broken-hearted; so to carry on our charitable work as to furnish help to those less fortunate than ourselves—the blind, the deaf, the sick, the ignorant; so to carry on our political work as to make for liberty and justice.

What! says some reader; do not Jews sometimes do this, and infidels sometimes do this? Yes, and in so far as Jews and infidels do this, they are Christians. For to be a Christian is not to believe in the definitions of Christ which the Church has given; it is to believe in him, and to try to do his work in his spirit.

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THE GENERAL HOUSEWORK EMPLOYEE

BY ISABEL KIMBALL WHITING

WITHIN their own intimate household relations many women have the situation of employer and employee, the responsibility of hours, wages, and sanitary conditions, with the consequent opportunity of expressing the ethical ideals of business which are demanded of employers in factory and shop. Home-makers should realize that as employers they are in competition with factory and store, and that there must be some reason why these industries have plenty of workers, while the demand for household employees is always greater than the supply, and the supply often incapable and inadequate for the duties required.

Since the problem of household labor is so individual, so separated from the large consideration of public opinion, it is still looked upon as a personal business, and the right to enter into the solution of household labor is considered by home-makers to belong only to individual mistresses, each in her individual requirements of daily living. Women should profit by the experience in the industrial situation at large, where individual conception of management has had to give way to larger democratic principles of capital and labor, and thus be ready to understand the true significance of the present discontent of household employees.

A home-maker confronted with this problem of household industry has attempted, and is practically developing, a plan of domestic labor along democratic lines, and the writer wishes to present the attempt of this employer as a means immediately practicable for bringing household labor into line with some of the best principles of modern industry.

The family consists of four members, two children, father, and mother. Like the majority of families employing domestic labor, this has but one housework employee, the long-suffering "general housework girl." Since the employer in question believes that the care of children must be considered as a special feature of home life, and under no conditions be added to the day's work of the general housework employee, a trained person is employed a definite number of hours a day to assist in the care of the children. If a family cannot afford this added expense, however, it seems that upon the mother must fall the entire charge of her children.

The problem, therefore, in this household becomes chiefly that of the general housework employee, of whom much is required, and to whom, usually, little is given. We may start with the conviction that since household labor should be conducted on a business basis, living conditions, hours, and wages must be considered in this relation. First, then, the employee and her life must be in harmony with the best democratic principles of the modern business world; the household worker must be independent; must live her own life outside of working hours; live in her own home or proper lodgings, and go daily to her place of work, as all other working men and women outside of domestic employment go to theirs. She must have her own friends, her own social life, her own disposition of leisure, untrammeled by the wish of an employer, who usually bestows freedom upon the household worker as a privilege and not as a right.

Employers of domestic labor may assert that the morals of the girls living outside the household will be endangered; that girls living in the employer's household have much more protection than if they lived outside; that their social life can be guarded and guided by the wise and kind supervision of their interested employers, their hours of leisure properly directed along useful and developing lines. But Miss Addams has pointed out in the chapter on "Household Adjustment" in "Democ-

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racy and Social Ethics" that statistics from certain hospitals in London show "that seventy-eight per cent of illegitimate children born there are the children of girls working in households." She has suggested that no individual employer, acquainted imperfectly with the personal life of her employee, need think her influence for good on the working-girl's life so strong or beneficial as the standards of morality of the girl's own family and social standing.

Women are interested in working-girls' homes and clubs, under proper management, for factory and store employees; then why draw the line at domestic employees? Have they not the same right to good living conditions on a democratic basis? Why build houses with a wing generously thrown out for servants, there not only to work, but to live, under constant supervision, and at the personal pleasure of the employer? Rather enter into the larger effort of providing homes properly built and cared for, of supplying healthful amusement, greater opportunities for development of character for all workers in all fields of industry, including that of household labor, and so be in touch with an uplift for all in a democratic spirit, rather than a betterment on individual lines for a separated class. This broadening of the aspect of domestic labor will bring into active work for improving in general the conditions of working-girls many employers whose imaginations were not keen enough, before the problem faced them in their own homes, to be actively interested in the lives of the great band of workingwomen.

Under such an employer's plan the sanitary conditions of the home of the employee are known and considered by the employer before accepting the employee as worker in her home, and afterwards, by keeping in close touch with the girl's home life, the employer guards against the very real danger of the transmission of disease. A room set apart for dressing is provided in the employer's house, in which the employee on arriving exchanges her street clothes for the wash-dresses and aprons which are washed, ironed, and kept in the home of her employer. How many employers on the present basis of household labor know the houses into which their workers go on days and evenings off, and from which they return to sleep in the employer's home, where the danger of infection to the household is aggravated by the presence of all the employee's belongings? Such a demand, and the careful inspection on the part of employers which prevails under the proposed plan, would improve sanitary conditions in the districts from which the domestic employees are drawn, and would force even the most individualistic home-makers into touch with the larger questions of village and city sanitation.

Next, this employer believes that the employee must have a normal working day, definite hours of work and definite hours of leisure. The employee is on duty at 7 in the morning until 1:30 P.M., off duty until 5, then on from 5 to 8. This schedule is for every day except Thursdays and Sundays. On Thursday she is on duty from 7 to 1:30—Sundays 8:30 to 3. Counting two hours and a half a week for her to wash and iron her own clothes, this brings the week down to fifty-eight working hours, the normal week required by law for women working in all mercantile establishments.

Many home-makers declare that their employees have hours off every afternoon and evening, but in the majority of cases they are required to stay in the employers' houses, and "Oh, yes," say the conscientious home-makers, "just answer the door-bell and telephone." Unless the employee is permitted to stop her work at a given hour to go out, or to stay in the house if preferred, and is absolutely off call of the employer, the worker is not in effect at liberty. If an employer in a factory or shop required his men to stay at their place of work after hours, though asking no arduous duty of them, such demand, in the opinion of the public, would be unjustifiable.

How can the work usually required of a general housework girl be accomplished in the given time? First, by careful direction on the part of the employer, who must understand exactly the demands she makes of the worker and who can train the employee into wise use of

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her time, into directed, concentrated effort instead of the indefinite, wasted time of the poor, confused "general housework girl." Then by eliminating unnecessary labor; by the conviction that home comforts and peace do not depend upon a white-aproned individual answering every bell whether occupied in attic or cellar—that daintily served meals are not dependent upon the minute and detailed service of a person who has already done more than a normal day's work—in short, an employer must not expect specialized work from an unspecialized worker.

The employer in question eliminates the need at table of personal service on the part of the employee by adopting the invention of a friend for serving meals. It is a piece of furniture the height of the dining-table, with ends and back inclosed, and consisting of four shelves, counting the top. It stands at the side of the hostess with the open front toward her, and into this serving-table are put the different courses of the meal, which are entirely out of sight of the guests. One shelf is reserved empty for the soiled plates of the first course. Meals are served in this way daintily and attractively and without any confusion when the home-maker has grasped the simple art of combining the tact of a hostess with the skill of serving. The device also removes the presence of an alien person from the gathering of a family and its friends, a condition which from the point of view of many employees must be trying, and to some employers, confronted with strong democratic tendencies of living, an incongruity to be avoided if possible. After the meal is over and the family has left the table, the employee is able to put the entire remains of the meal into this serving-table, which on casters can be wheeled out to the butler's pantry or kitchen. This small detail saves the customary labor of carrying out gradually the dishes, and is one of the practical means of reducing the time usually required for the many details of service.

Food is demanded well cooked and attentively prepared, cleaning of house thoroughly done, washing and ironing of only the family's personal clothing, while the other household washing is sent to a public laundry which the employer has visited, and the conditions of which she has found modern and scientific.

Gas is exclusively used for cooking, and, after careful planning of the employer and intelligent training of the employee, the home-maker has been able to bring the gas bills for cooking to an average below the cost of coal formerly used for this service. Furthermore, the use of gas eliminates the labor expended on the carrying of coal and ashes, and lessens the work of keeping the kitchen free from dust and dirt.

Since this employer believes that bread-making, like laundry work, is capable of being handled in a centralized way with large equipment, and that by the removal of this product from individual households one more detail of labor can be avoided, she buys the bread for her family; knowing that only by the demand of the intelligent will the standard of a product be raised. Therefore she has investigated the bakery and the process of handling the bread from baker to consumer, and is a regular customer where the conditions of production and distribution are proper, so helping the permanence of such a bakery and making it possible for other home-makers to procure the ideal product.

The next consideration is the standard of wages, a thing so without any special status in domestic employment to day that it is a difficult matter for individual employers to settle. Miss Salmon has made the statement in her valuable and scientific study entitled "Domestic Service" that "the wages received in domestic service are relatively and sometimes absolutely higher than the average wages received in other wage-earning occupations open to women." This high remuneration in wages in domestic labor is due, no doubt, to the present difficulty of obtaining workers, this difficulty being mainly due, in all probability, to the indefinite arrangements of domestic labor and the social disadvantages of the work on the long-established basis.

The employer described has taken for

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a standard the wages paid a skilled general housework girl, for under such a plan as proposed the work is necessarily efficient, and has added to this the expense of the employee's lodging in working-girls' club or at home.

Taking into consideration the light, heat, wear and tear of linen, washing, etc., for an employee living in an employer's household, it is believed that this plan is no more expensive. While the net wage is no more under this system than under the long-accepted one, the adoption of the method has made less difficult the securing of workers of intelligence and efficiency. The applications for work have come from women in restaurants, head cooks in households, factory employees, and even from a woman who had been an attendant nurse, all of whom liked the kind of work household industry offered, but had avoided it, or, if engaged in it, had been unhappy because of the condition of dependence and the social stigma applied to those who live in other people's homes, always alien and alone.

The question will then be raised in regard to the immigrant girl entering household work, with no training and no immediate way of preparing for such work. It may be suggested that trade schools for domestic employment be started, in the same way that trade schools for factory and shop are carried on. There should be a joint agreement between employers and the graduates from these trade schools as to the basis of hours and wages, and that the employee should live at home, or in working-girls' clubs, on an independent basis.

Referring again to Miss Salmon's book, "Domestic Service," this statement is found in regard to the training-schools for servants: "The training-school for servants is and must be a failure as long as the class for whom it was founded will not voluntarily attend it in any considerable numbers for the sake of the instruction it is primarily intended to give. . . . Not until domestic service loses its distinctive marks of drudgery, menial servitude, and social degradation will the training-school receive any large accession to its numbers. . . . The stream cannot rise higher than its source, and the training-school for employees cannot succeed so long as employers are content with unscientific methods in their own share of the household duties."

The present writer dares to believe that a trade school such as she describes answers Miss Salmon's argument and would eventually succeed, for it would be the opportunity not only for training the employee, but, what is quite as necessary, for the training of the employer. The home-maker would be compelled to put aside her individual conception of domestic labor, and be forced to enter into agreement with her employee on the best democratic standards as to the duties required.[1]

This outline of a plan at present in practice is for that most difficult situation of the general housework employee. Where specialized labor can be employed the problem seems simpler of solution. The work could be so planned that different employees could be on duty at different hours, and so there would be less need of eliminating some details of service, the elimination of which in the eyes of many would be the losing of some attractive feature of a smoothly run household; although the real democratic conception of daily living would make women in general willing to forego certain unnecessary details of luxurious service, the sacrifice of which is absolutely required on simple business principles of the employer of a general housework employee to-day. For where the household income cannot afford specialized labor, false standards of social practice must give way to higher ideals of the essentials of daily living.

Some may declare that in putting household labor on such a business basis one removes the personal interest of the employer for the worker, while the sense of loyalty on the part of the

[1] A trade school for domestic employees has been started in connection with a certain social settlement this summer. The course is to be carried through four months, and in the fall the graduates will be employed by home-makers who go on a waiting list in the beginning of the course, with agreement as to hours, wages, and that the employees will live at home. Since many households break up for summer vacations, and so require new workers in the fall, this experiment of a trade school is made at a favorable time.

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worker for the home-maker is lost. This criticism is based on the false supposition that the first thing in household labor is the personal relation; whereas, like all work in the world, the first consideration should be the work, its value and worth, then one's efficiency and faithfulness in it; and through this comes always the personal interest and loyalty, man to man. If in household labor the work were dignified as, in the writer's opinion, it would be on the basis just described, there would be between employer and employed a higher feeling of loyalty and interest in one another's lives, such as we see developing in the best industries to-day, where paternal bestowal of privilege is giving way to comprehension of the rights of all workers as citizens in a democratic community.

This proposal is not offered as the solution of, or panacea for, a great industrial problem; what may be the ultimate outcome of household labor, how much more of the work will eventually be taken from individual homes and managed in a concentrated way with large equipment, remains for the future to demonstrate.

CHILD'S PLAY IN GERMANY

BY ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER

SCIENCE, religion, parenthood, art—these are the outlets for man's creative energy; but the outlet for the child's is play.

We catch the real flavor of a nation's quality in its inventions, its beliefs, its children, its design and music and poetry. But nothing smacks more racily of the soil than the many inventions of childhood, than the echoes of forgotten languages and religions lurking among its quaint rigmaroles and observances, than its doll-worship and the primitive cast of its melodies. And while we could almost reconstruct a vanished race from one of its folk-songs—*ex pede Herculem*—some of what I venture to call its "little-folk songs" would serve quite as well.

Child's play is the diminutive of folk-lore. And it is not strange that it should have reached its highest development in Germany, a land that fairly teems with folk-lore.

Every one who knows that incomparable little opera, "Hänsel und Gretel," has felt the peculiar charm and distinction of German child's play. But few realize its honorable derivation, how deeply its roots strike down into the history and character of the race, or the part that play has had in its career.

The religion of the ancient Germans was largely a worship of Nature, and has left generous traces in the children's games, especially in their *Reigen* or choral dances.

Few experiences are more delightful than to come upon a circle of excited children dancing about their queen and singing one of their naïve songs in the three-toned scale which is a direct inheritance from the Middle Ages. The German adult may still incline a little to the ponderous and the guttural, even though he is consistently caricatured by the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon. But the children are lightness and melody and grace personified. And they have the same unerring instinct for rhythm and nuance that they had for the teething-ring and for mother's arms when she sang the *Wiegenlied* about the three virgins peeping out of the golden house, who are no other than the three Fates of classical days.

One of the *Reigen* from Pressburg seems to be a heathen prayer for sunshine, directed to the Mistress of Heaven with an elaborate ritual. The original is in so difficult a dialect that it is omitted:

"Open thy doorlet, Mistress dear,
Let the darling sun appear.
Bind the rain, our foe;
Burn up all the snow.
Angels are sitting behind the spring
Hoping that you the sun will bring."

Meanwhile the children are looking eagerly at the sky, and if the sun actually

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does break through the clouds, the whole circle falls to the ground, chanting, not without a touch of true childish fantasy:

"The sun comes out as we sing,
The angels fall into the spring."

This heathen sun-worship—to which, by the way, we owe the Christmas tree—sounds again in the old Palatinate song "So treiben wir den Winter aus," and in the original of our "Ring-around-a-Rosy."

Other *Reigen* are full of the atmosphere of fairy stories and hoary legends. The little ones sing a hymn to their queen of beauty, or act out a romantic wedding, or the circle scatters in consternation when the captive princess in the center suddenly breaks through her prison wall and pursues them.

One looks in vain for a metropolitan note in German child's play. For it is a delicate thing that grows only in meadow and wood, in the farmyard, on the village green, and beside still waters or swift. That is one of the reasons why it is so delicious to come suddenly upon one of these immemorial games in the Rembrandtish gloom of some typical city court, where the carven corbels and the inscriptions of Gothic, half-timbered gables reach out eagerly to each other above the ring of happy little towheads. Then, softly irradiated by a romantic light out of the Dark Ages, urban glamour is fused at last with the glamour of "God's out-of-doors."

For these "little-folk songs" are saturated with an unconscious feeling for nature. The German boy cannot even make a willow whistle without singing, as his knife-handle rhythmically taps the green bark:

"Pfeifel, Pfeifel, ich mai' dich,
Oder ich zerschneide dich,
Werfe dich auf's Scheunendach,
Dass du fällst in den blauen Bach,
Der trägt dich hin nach Rom,
Kommst nimmer wieder hom!"

This might be freely rendered:

"Whistle, whistle, I will make you,
Or in pieces I will break you;
Throw you on the steep-roofed stall,
Into the blue brook you'll fall,
Which will carry you to Rome,
And you'll never get back home!"

Almost everything that is touched by the country boy blossoms into play and bursts into song. He may go berrying all day, yet finds himself at sundown with purple lips and empty pail. "Makes nothing out!" He brazenly invents a song and dance about the "berry-manikin" who came and appropriated all the fruits of his labors and lured him far from home, *houpla!*

Or suppose a hawk is spied in Siebenbürgen above the farmyard: the children rush through the frightened chickens, shouting in chorus:

"Hienvogel, drê dich erám (herum),
Drê dich iwer de Grôwen (über den Graben),
Dat dich de Hänjd (Hunde) zeknôgen," etc.

("Chicken-bird, turn about,
Over the trench withdraw you,
That the dogs may gnaw you," etc.)

This has a special interest, as it is supposed to be the modern form of a heathen incantation once used by the old sorcerers in deadly earnest. But in Moravia it has developed into a merry juvenile drama, with agitated dialogue and plenty of action. One child is the cruel, greedy hawk, another the chivalrous rooster, and the others, crowding behind him, are the nervous, awkward chickens.

The German game of bridge not only antedates our current fashionable craze, but most German games as well. Two children with locked arms make a bridge and the others file beneath to the song:

"Fahr' durch, fahr' durch,
Jetzt kommt ein grosser Wagen.
Wer sitzt darin, wer sitzt darin?
Ein Mann mit grossem Kragen.
Wass will er denn, wass will er denn?
Er will den 'Hermann' holen.
Wass hat er gethan, wass hat er gethan?
Er hat gestohlen."

"Fare through, fare through,
A great big cart's to foller.
Who sits in it, who sits in it?
A man with a huge collar.
What does he want, what does he want?
'Hermann' he will be grabbing.
What has he done, what has he done?
He has been crabbing."

Then the bridge comes down on Hermann, or whoever the last child happens to be, and holds him tight. He is asked whether he will side with Stinging Nettle or Thistle, and takes his place on one side or other of the bridge. This is repeated until all the players have been caught, and then it develops that Sting-

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ing Nettle and Thistle are really Heaven and Hell, respectively, or Angel and Devil, etc. Finally, the "angels," after being rocked in the arms of the leaders to the words,

"Wir wiegen den Engel in Abraham's Schoss,"
("We're rocking the angel in Abraham's lap,")

gather themselves together and put the "devils" to flight.

Here we come upon a curious mixture of religions. For the bridge from this world to the unknown was a feature of Germanic heathendom quite strange to Christianity, with its angels and devils. But it is a beautiful bit of symbolism that a pagan game should work up to a Christian climax.

Another trace of the ancient religion is found in the sport of skipping stones on the surface of smooth waters. For South German boys still believe in water divinities living down below, and that they tease (*necken*) the nixies with their stones. A narrow, winding street near a stream in the city of Brunswick is called by its old name, Nickelnkulk, which means Nixie's Hole. And near Schöningen, not long ago, they were still playing a game in which one child would lurk in a ditch and try to catch the others who jumped over it, singing, in wonderfully Low German:

"Nickelkerl, keitschenbom,
Ik sitt in dinen locke;
Fange mik doch."

"Nixie of the elder tree,
I squat in your den;
Catch me then."

Many of the German games begin with determining who is "it," by the familiar process of "counting out." Amid great suspense, the leader repeats a verse of doggerel, pointing to successive children at each syllable, and the one on whom the last syllable falls is "out." This is repeated until all are eliminated but the chosen one.

These rhymes are found in every part of the world, and some are of very early origin. Indeed, some of the Pacific Islanders have counting-out sentences in languages so ancient as to be quite forgotten.

Perhaps Joseph and his brethren, playing together as innocent youngsters back there in the dawn of history, used to count each other out very much as modern children do. Perhaps the young Ascanius used the ancestor of "Eeny, meeny, miny, mo" upon his playmates while the wooden horse was standing inactive within the sacred city of Troy.

Tylor, however, in his "Primitive Culture," holds that the important affairs of primitive man tend to become the playthings of the civilized child; and Bolton thinks that counting-out rhymes are survivals of the sorcerer's formulæ and of the practice of choosing by verbal lot the victim for the human sacrifice. Indeed, Charles Godfrey Leland has proved that our familiar rhyme beginning

"One-ery, two-ery, ickery, Ann"

is almost identical with a Gypsy magic spell in the Romany language.

Among the different counting-out literatures, the German seems to be the richest, and it is not strange that much of the English and American doggerel should have come originally from the Fatherland.

Many of these rhymes are pure gibberish, that gives the little ones a swelling consciousness of erudition and cosmopolitanism.

"I remember as a child," writes the editor of the "Oldenburger Kinderbuch," "rattling off with great earnestness the strangest syllables and most singular combinations of sounds in the belief that I was talking a foreign tongue and would be readily understood by any Frenchman, Latinist, or other linguist."

Much of our own gibberish is directly traceable to such "German" lines as

"Jebede, bebede, bitchen, batchen"

and

"Fimmelti, fammelti, fimmelti, faff!"

The language can receive, too, as well as give. For, at Mainz, I recognized in the following verse the battered remains of a French classic:

"Un, deux, do,
Caprimendi mo,
Caprimendi citoilien!
Un, deux, do."

This is the French original:

"Un, deux, trois,
Capitaine et Roi,

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Capitaine et citoyen!
Un, deux, trois."

The German counting-out rhymes, where they rise above mere gibberish, have more humor and unrestrained fantasy than the *Reigen* or the willow-pipe songs. They are fond of relating how a little white bean rode all the way to England, but England was shut tight and the key was broken off quite. Or they tell Old Goosebeak how, when they catch him in heaven, they'll tweak off one of his legs, make it into a tiny flute, and play it each morn for the benefit of all the storks. Or one hears that

"Five canaries who eat bread
Shoot the richest farmer dead."

Sometimes counting-out enters the domain of history, as when

"Abraham und Isaak
Die stritten um 'nen Zwieback;
Abraham war gar nicht faul,
Gab dem Isaak eins auf's Maul."

"Abraham and Isaac
Fought about a zwieback;
Abraham, with fist alert,
Made the mouth of Isaac hurt."

Often, however, one finds in the rhymes the same romantic strain that flashes through the whole gamut of German child's play, a strain which we have come to know mainly through the magic pages of Grimm's fairy tales. And naturally these verses have a deal to say about the little princess, the foul witch, the golden ring, the enchanted slumber, the crafty hobgoblin, and the high-minded dwarf. Here is a specimen:

"Ele, Mele,
Zuckerseele,
Königskind,
Goldenring.
Du schast leeren
Bookstaveeren:
A, b, ab.
Du bist darab."

"Oly, moly,
Sugar-souly,
Child o' the King,
Golden-ring.
Might as well
Learn to spell:
A, b, ab.
You I nab."

Others are as full of a feeling for nature as any of the *Reigen*. In the Holstein jingle that follows it is interesting to catch for a moment the romantic glint of gold amid its homely realism:

"Storch, Storch, Langbein,
Wenn du fliegst ins Land herein,
Bringst dem Kind ein Brüderlein?
Wenn der Roggen reifet,
Wenn das Fröschlein pfeifte,
Wenn die goldnen Ringen
In der Kiste klingen,
Wenn die rothen Apfeln
In der Kiste rapfeln."

This is Englished, with profound apologies to the original:

"Storky, storky, longlegs,
Flying from some land or other,
Won't you bring's a little brother?
When the ripe grain bristles,
When the froglet whistles,
When the box of rings
Gives out golden klings,
When the apple-din
Pours into the bin."

The Germans do not curse their little ones with the surfeit of fancy-saving devices that stultifies our rich American children. Most of the elaborate toys that bear the emblem "Made in Germany" are, I believe, made there only in theory; and the greater part of the rest are manufactured for export. The Germans would as soon think of weakening the imaginations of their children with "Persian apparatus" as of weakening their legs by constant perambulation. And just because those children have to depend on "the inner eye," they have such a royal time of it. It is on the principle that there is more fun in making a mud pie than in having it made for you; and there is more fun in playing it is a walled town attacked by desperadoes than in seeing the mud poured into a patent mold from which it will emerge a whole army of desperadoes.

The appeal in Germany is always to the child's own creativeness. Even in the cradle his imagination is appealed to, and his sense of rhythm and melody. So it is no wonder that he brings these riches to his play as soon as he can toddle, and, later, to his life-work. For the happy childhoods of Germany have produced such men as Goethe and Kant and Gutenberg, Holbein, Luther, and Beethoven.

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SOME AMERICAN STATESMEN

ANOTHER publishing season has drawn to a close, and again a prominent feature has been the appearance of numerous works of biography and autobiography. Judging from the output, indeed, publishers seem to be more than ever aware that people like to read about people. It is true that there has not been any work of outstanding importance, unless it be Professor Duncan's "Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer;" but there have been a number of really meritorious productions, particularly, perhaps, in the way of American political biographies. From among these we select a few for comment.

There is, first of all, Professor Allen Johnson's "Stephen A. Douglas,"[1] with its apt sub-title of "A Study in American Politics." Professor Johnson is under no illusion as to the means whereby Douglas rose to power and succeeded in impressing his masterful personality on the history of his day. "His rise as a politician," he writes suggestively, "coincides with the development of party organization and machinery." And, explicitly, with reference to the years when Douglas was getting his start: "He was only a soldier of political fortune awaiting his turn for promotion." After all, though, as Professor Johnson makes very evident before putting the final touches to his portrait, Douglas was no mere spoilsman intent only on partisan and personal success. He could and did think nationally, viewing problems with a statesman's rather than a politician's eye. There is no need to emphasize here the magnanimity of his attitude toward Lincoln in the hour of the latter's triumph and his own bitter defeat; nor the whole-heartedness with which, when convinced that Secession was actually impending, he rallied to the defense of the Union.

Not so well known are certain facts which Professor Johnson brings into vivid relief, illustrative of less dramatic but beneficial phases of Douglas's statesmanship. He was an ardent believer in the future of his country, and was among those who labored in and out of season to span the continent with States and Territories and create an ocean-bound Republic. In fancy he beheld one powerful nation dominating the two Americas, and he sought to give reality to his dream. Every scheme for the opening up of the West—filling it with settlers, breaking its ground, and affording its products rapid transportation—found in him an enthusiastic advocate. He was an early champion of the inland waterways project, urging on Congress the improvement of the Illinois River not simply as a local scheme of interest to his constituents, but because he firmly believed in its National character. "Through this channel and this alone," he declared, "we have a connected and uninterrupted navigation for steamboats and large vessels from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico to all the northern lakes." This was nearly seventy years ago. Nor were his efforts confined to material betterment. He urged the free admission of works of art, a reform which still belongs to the future; and he was the friend and patron of such cultural institutions as Chicago University and the Smithsonian.

Unfortunately for Douglas's fame, however, the one fact for which he is chiefly remembered is his connection with the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the rivalry with Lincoln which this subsequently engendered. When thought of at all, he is thought of as the man who was beaten by Lincoln; and thence has resulted an unconscious bias against him and dwarfing of his memory. Not that such a bias is indefensible. Douglas, for all his innate Nationalism and Unionism, did much to foment sectional differences and hasten the coming of the Civil War; besides which, he had no clear and controlling appreciation of the value of moral ideals. Professor Johnson develops this cardinal defect in a paragraph which seems to us to sum up admirably the secret both of Douglas's temporary success and of his ultimate failure.

[1] Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics. By Allen Johnson. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.

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"Douglas was so constituted temperamentally," writes Professor Johnson, apropos of the resentment with which the North greeted the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, "that he both could not and would not confront the situation fairly and squarely. This want of sensitiveness to the force of ethical convictions stirring the masses is the most conspicuous and regrettable aspect of his statecraft. Personally Douglas had a high sense of honor and duty; in private affairs he was scrupulously honest; and if at times he was shifty in politics, he played the game with quite as much fairness as those contemporary politicians who boasted of the integrity of their motives. He preferred to be frank; he meant to deal justly by all men. Even so, he failed to understand the impelling power of those moral ideals which border on the unattainable. For the transcendentalist in politics and philanthropy he had only contempt. The propulsive force of an idea in his own mind depended wholly upon its appeal to his practical judgment. His was the philosophy of the attainable. Results that were approximately just and fair satisfied him. He was not disposed to sacrifice immediate advantage to future gain. His Celtic temperament made him think rapidly; and what imagination failed to supply, quick wit made good."

This paragraph, besides exhibiting the main reason why the good that Douglas did has been obscured to posterity, is characteristic of the entire work in which it finds place. Mr. Johnson's biography, in effect, is well constructed, well written, and eminently sensible. He has not attempted a "vindication" of Douglas; he has been content to paint a sympathetic but thoroughly frank portrait. This sort of treatment, it need scarcely be pointed out, will do far more to rehabilitate Douglas's memory in the esteem of his countrymen than would the most flowery eulogy. And, for the same reason, warm praise must be accorded Mr. Louis Pendleton's "Alexander H. Stephens,"[1] a recent addition to the capital American Crisis Series of biographies, which already includes studies of those eminent Southern leaders, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Judah P. Benjamin. In almost the first line of his preface Mr. Pendleton takes occasion to remind the reader that Stephens was a man of a "peculiar personality;" and then proceeds, without quibble or reservation, to tell the story of his amazing career.

As is well known, it would be difficult to name a prominent figure on either side in the struggle over slavery who was at once so beloved and so detested by his own people as was Stephens. He was constantly doing something to excite their admiration or provoke their wrath. Mr. Pendleton describes him as "one of the most consistent figures in the long struggle between the champions of State sovereignty and the supporters of Federal supremacy." As a "States' Righter" he undoubtedly was consistent; but otherwise his course was dotted with inconsistencies, or at all events with acts and utterances that would seem to be mutually irreconcilable. He was one of the comparatively few Southerners who opposed the war with Mexico—which he insisted, nevertheless, was not ascribable to the "slave power"—but after the war no Southerner was more determined that the "slave power" should share in the spoils. He opposed Secession; yet when Secession was an accomplished fact he took an active part in the first Confederate Congress, and allowed himself to be chosen Vice-President of the new Government. He was desperately anxious that the Confederate Constitution be so formed as to admit non-slaveholding States and attract Western commonwealths to the Confederacy; but he also advocated reopening the slave trade, and in his unforgettable "corner-stone" speech he lauded slavery as the rock upon which the Confederacy had been founded; and as being the "natural and normal" condition of the negro, "in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator."

It cannot be said that Mr. Pendleton makes any serious effort to clear away the problems thus raised—and some of which may well be deemed insoluble. But he points the way to a better under-

[1] Alexander H. Stephens. By Louis Pendleton. (American Crisis Series.) George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. $1.25, net.

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standing of the enigmatical Stephens when he lays stress on his frail physique, melancholic temperament, and alert mind, as reacted upon by the grim environment of his Georgian home. It is quite evident, in fact, that Mr. Pendleton regards Stephens throughout his career as a product of environment, as a victim of circumstances over which he had no control. That he possessed traits of singular attractiveness is luminously brought out in such passages as the following:

"By the power of an invincible will he rose above his misery, found distraction in incessant labor, in the duties of life, the companionship of friends, in the rewards of honorable ambition, and in helping others to reach the happiness which—as it would appear—he could not secure for himself. His works of charity and philanthropy were constant and countless. He was lavish of hospitality, and gave to all who asked, even the undeserving. His pity and sympathy for the unfortunate were such as only a tried and travailing spirit could feel. He provided a college education for more than fifty young men and women. During his life he made much money—out of his law practice, and $75,000 from his historical writings alone—but he spent it all, chiefly for the benefit of others, and when he died his body-servant was reported to be richer than he."

To such a man—generous, kind, and marvelously eloquent—much might be forgiven. And in Stephens's case there was much to be forgiven, from a Southern as well as from a Northern point of view. His "corner-stone" speech, Mr. Pendleton asserts, "brought thousands of recruits to the Northern standard, and was not the least of the factors concerned in the prevention of the recognition of the Confederacy by the Governments of Europe." Unquestionably, Stephens was one of the great handicaps on the Southern cause, his carping criticisms seriously embarrassing the Administration. Mr. Pendleton bluntly declares that he "seems virtually to have been a leader of the opposition to the Administration of which he was a member;" and that, "speaking from the standpoint of the Confederate Government, still determined to struggle on and hoping to win, Stephens and his friends must be said to have wearied of the war, and to have shown an open and damaging willingness to consider the question of asking for peace too soon." In fact, it was afterwards intimated that he had traitorously aimed at promoting the interests of the North while pretending to labor for the South. The South in general, and his own State of Georgia in particular, placed no credit in this cruelly unjust charge; as is sufficiently shown by the fact that, having borne himself manfully and wisely during the sad years of Reconstruction, he was elevated to the headship of his native State. Not the least valuable portion of Mr. Pendleton's excellent book is his description of how Stephens, in the Reconstruction era, redeemed himself for the follies and errors of the years that had gone before.

It is pleasing, too, to find this Southern writer—for Mr. Pendleton is a Southerner—frankly acknowledging that Appomattox was a blessing for both South and North. "There were not to be two republics, or a dozen, between the Canada line and the Rio Grande—and for this result at least, as well as for the extinction of slavery, all Americans, even at the South, may now give thanks."

In striking and undesirable contrast to the spirit here displayed is that shown by Mr. Winfield S. Kerr in his elaborate two-volume biography of John Sherman.[1] Mr. Kerr feels, and takes frequent occasion to ventilate this view, that absolutely nothing is to be said in defense of the course followed by the South in the great struggle over slavery. He writes of Jefferson Davis and other "prominent actors in the conspiracy to destroy the Union." The Dred Scott decision was simply another step in "the plot to fasten slavery upon the Territories." No recognition here of the fact that the South had a view-point of its own, and that from this view-point its constitutional rights had been invaded, giving it justification for the policy it adopted. A kindlier

[1] John Sherman, His Life and Public Services. By Winfield S. Kerr. Two vols. Sherman, French & Co., Boston. $4 per set.

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tone in writing of the vanquished in the colossal struggle would not have weakened Mr. Kerr's book; nor would a trifle less exuberance in singing the praises of his hero. John Sherman was unquestionably a strong man, and a man to whom the country owes much. But he was scarcely the man to be measured up (as Mr. Kerr insists on measuring him) with Gladstone, Bismarck, and Lincoln.

In this respect, as affording an unduly eulogistic view of Sherman's personality and achievements, Mr. Kerr's work compares unfavorably with the more modest biography written a year or so ago by Mr. Theodore E. Burton for the American Statesmen Series.[1] Sherman's faults and weaknesses—and, being human, he had plenty of both—are plainly revealed in Mr. Burton's pages, as they by no means are in Mr. Kerr's. Mr. Burton's book, again, is far more readable—although this is not saying much, as it would be next to impossible for any one to find entertaining material in the career of a statesman whose whole life was given up to the solution of financial problems—and more exact and careful in statement than is Mr. Kerr's. An author who can quote from the Boston "Currier" (*sic*) and refer to Alexander H. Stephens as Alexander H. Stevens need not be surprised if his statements generally are viewed with distrust.

Still, for all its exuberance and carelessness, and despite its unnecessary discussion of questions with which John Sherman was only indirectly concerned, there is sufficient of value in Mr. Kerr's biography to commend it to all who wish to obtain a full view of the financial history of the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century. In this there can be no question that the leading rôle was enacted by Sherman—that, as Garfield declared in his eloquent speech at Chicago, in 1880, nominating Sherman for the Presidency, "His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the Government and made the currency equal to gold. . . . The great fiscal affairs of the Nation and the vast business interests of the country he guarded and preserved while executing the law of resumption. . . . He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government." Each step in Sherman's career, every measure with which he was associated—the Morrill Tariff Bill, the Legal Tender acts, the National Bank Bill, the Refunding and Resumption bills, the various Silver bills, the Tariff Bill of 1883, the Inter-State Commerce Law, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the McKinley Bill, etc.—is studied in the greatest detail, with copious quotation from Sherman's speeches. This method makes the work uncommonly dull reading; but it has the merit of presenting in convenient form considerable material of value to the historical student, but not readily available to him.

The same may be said of Mr. John Bigelow's two volumes containing the "Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden."[1] These are supplementary to the "Life" which Mr. Bigelow published some years ago, and to his earlier edition of the "Writings of Samuel J. Tilden;" and while they contain much that is valueless from either the biographical or the historical point of view, they at the same time do preserve not a little worth preservation. Chronologically speaking, the correspondence runs from 1833 to 1886, the year of Tilden's death, and includes not only letters written by him, but letters written to him by such well-known personages as Martin and John Van Buren, Silas Wright, John A. Dix, Edwin Croswell, W. L. Marcy, Horatio Seymour, George T. Curtis, Jay Gould, Charles O'Conor, and Daniel Manning. No revelations of any great importance are made; in fact, there are comparatively few letters touching on certain phases of Tilden's greatest activity—his connection with the exposure and prosecution of the members of the Tweed Ring, for instance. But the general effect of the correspondence is to increase one's respect and admiration for the man who, in the opinion of many

[1] John Sherman. By Theodore E. Burton. (American Statesmen Series.) Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.25, net.

[1] Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden. Edited by John Bigelow. Two vols. Harper & Bros., New York. $6.

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people, was defrauded of the highest gift in the power of the American Nation.

For one thing, his disinterestedness stands plainly revealed in his own correspondence and in that of his friends. So, too, does his lofty earnestness, which is nowhere better indicated than in a letter he wrote at the age of thirty-six. "My disposition," he observes, "is not to permit merely private business to engross me, nor to be in any of an unprofessional nature which creates anxiety. I have never been accustomed to surrender to it my inner life, or to allow its cares to fill those little interstices between actual occupation which are instinctively given to and which characterize our ruling habits of thought and feeling. There no doubt is danger, as the relations of business multiply around us, and our enthusiasm for public objects is qualified or weakened, and our sympathies often come back upon us as the chilled blood returns from the extremities to the heart, that what furnishes occupation to our activity without the trouble of seeking it, and without making us inquire whether we choose it, will grow too much upon our attention. But I desire to reserve something to better purpose—something to friends and to myself, and possibly, if hereafter I can recall the enthusiasm of early years, with a share of its former strength and steadiness, something to consecrate life by a sense that it has not been wholly given to objects so selfishly egotistical as are most of those which we pursue."

Read in the light of Tilden's after career—of his work as leader in the impeachment proceedings against Barnard and Cardozo, in the Tweed prosecutions generally, in the fight against the Canal Ring, and in the manner of his acceptance of the verdict of the Electoral Commission withholding the Presidency from him—the absolute sincerity and vital significance of this letter are unmistakable. It aids in the understanding both of Tilden's conduct of life and of the seemingly extravagant esteem in which he was held by his intimate friends.

Comment on Current Books

Modern Painting

From an Englishman's standpoint Mr. Phythian's book will be judged more leniently than from an American's. The review is inadequate in its comprehension of what America has done for modern painting. It is true that, of our painters, John Sargent, Elihu Vedder, William Morris Hunt, John La Farge, Winslow Homer, Miss Cassatt, William M. Chase, Wyatt Eaton, Kenyon Cox, Thomas W. Dewing, George De Forest Brush, John W. Alexander, and others are mentioned. But no matter how much Mr. Phythian has cleverly packed into a line or two, the American reader will regret that more space could not have been given to a description of his countrymen's work. Especially is this felt when we regard the great amount of space given to England. The long notice of Pre-Raphaelitism, for instance, while extremely interesting, is quite disproportionate to a general history. Yet much must be forgiven to an Englishman in this respect, because the Pre-Raphaelite movement arose at exactly the period when the history of painting undertaken in this book begins. The review of French painting, reinforced, as is all the text, by a large number of pertinent illustrations in color and in black and white, is also well done and fairly adequate. But how about the other countries? Not only is America slighted as before noted, but also Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. After his capital introduction, Mr. Phythian discourses in about two hundred pages upon English painting and in about one hundred and twenty on painting in France. He then has left but a dozen pages for Germany, eleven for America, six each for Holland and Belgium, three for Japan, and one each for Spain and Italy. It might be edifying to hear the exclamations from the lovers of Sorolla or Segantini on the one page given to their respective countries!

[1] Fifty Years of Modern Painting. By J. E. Phythian. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.

English Pastoral Drama

In this volume[1] Professor Marks has done a needful though not highly important work for students of English literature. Edmund Spenser gave pastoral poetry permanence and rank therein, but as a graft upon the English drama it proved a failure. Miss Marks justly observes that "it is not

[1] English Pastoral Drama. By Jeannette Marks, M.A. Methuen & Co., London, W.C., England. 5 shillings, net.

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particularly pleasant to study a phase of literature which, once fresh and undoubtedly attractive, has become old and *roué*." By wading through more than a hundred pastoral plays and operas, many of them not readily accessible, and giving summaries of their plots, with other information to the point, she has done a thankworthy service for students of the English drama. A full bibliography of pastoral plays in Italian, Spanish, and English, and of pastoral critical works, concludes her scholarly volume.

An American Scholar in India

Writing from Lahore, India, to Professor Lanman, of Harvard, the late Alfred Stratton said:

> Here in Lahore I am fairly well settled. It has been necessary for me to give a good deal of attention to getting some acquaintance with Hindustani, in which the large Arabic and Persian element is wholly strange to me. . . . I appreciate the chance of spending some years here in work that allows more real contact with the people of the country than most officials have. If there were nothing else to be gained, the constant use of Sanskrit, which is the medium of instruction in one of the classes I shall take over in May, would be of the greatest importance. You know the country and will understand my surroundings.

Alfred William Stratton was a Canadian, a Toronto boy of modest parentage. He went through the schools of his native city, and the University of Toronto shaped his philological instinct. He became a teacher of the classics at Hamilton, Ontario, and there determined to become an Orientalist. He then worked at the Johns Hopkins University, where he formed a friendship and admiration for Professor Bloomfield, whose disciple he was. From Baltimore Mr. Stratton went to the University of Chicago in a professorial capacity, and from Chicago to India to occupy the combined posts of Registrar of the Punjab University and Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, posts peculiarly favorable for observation and providing scope for the exercise of his special knowledge. From Lahore and Kashmir Mr. Stratton wrote many letters, a large number of which are included in this volume.[1] They not only give a clear impression of a singularly conservative, lofty, and unselfish personality; they afford us a clear picture of an American scholar's life in India, and also many interesting side-lights on social, educational, and political conditions in Northwest India. To his every observation Mr. Stratton brought a remarkable sympathy with things Indian. In his letters he would be apt thus acutely to characterize the Hindus and Mohammedans:

> The Hindu side is quite harmonious, so far as I can judge. The difference is surely due to the religions. You know I am much more interested in the Hindus, it is only natural; yet I confess I am interested in watching the disputes of the Muhammadans. They are capital politicians, and whatever they do one must consider whether there is not some reason for their action that does not appear on the surface. Fortunately, I can take my own time to decide. How Browning would have searched them out—in that they are so like the Italians. . . . Both Hindus and Muhammadans here have offered prayer for the British in their public gatherings. In many other Indian cities, too, this has been done, but quite spontaneously and without any concerted movement, so it is all the more gratifying as an indication of the attachment of the people and the general wisdom of British rule.

As a teacher, Mr. Stratton was emphatically one of those notable men whose duty it has been to endeavor to raise the Indian to the position occupied by the American and the European. We have had many examples of English patience and persistence in this respect. But now, in the examples of Charles Cuthbert Hall and Alfred William Stratton, both of them cut off from life when at the very height of their capacity, we have examples of American scholarship, tact, and energy in touch with modern India.

Egypt and Its Betrayal

This volume's title[1] indicates its author's prejudice. Apparently he believes that England's ideal is to obtain economic and political control of all possible countries from which a large annual income may be derived. Much may be derived from Egypt, especially under so wise a proconsul as Lord Cromer. Mr. Farman praises the Cromer administration, but contends, nevertheless, that under it the native worker is still kept poor. Admitting that English rule in Egypt has reduced former exorbitant rates of interest, this critic points out that the native outlook, financially, is now no brighter, because of the enormous cost of present-day British administration. Its chief items of recent expense are the Nile dam at Assuan and the barrage at Assiut. Not counting the Sudan, the cultivable part of Egypt comprises a comparatively small country. Despite any progress under English rule, its debt is about the same now, objects Mr Farman, as it was under the native rulers, twenty-five years ago. Of them, and their relations with Egypt and with England, an intimate glimpse is afforded by the author, who, as American Consul at Cairo, had opportunity for first-hand observation and knowledge. He does not emphasize the fact, however, that whereas the workman's former taxes were swallowed up in misgovernment, the workman of to-day has something for his money—civilization. Moreover, as Sir Auckland Colvin says in his recently published "Making of Modern Egypt," were

[1] Letters from India. By Alfred William Stratton. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net.

[1] Egypt and Its Betrayal. By Elbert E. Farman, LL D. The Grafton Press, New York. $2.50, net.

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the present support withdrawn, the new civilization would not last a twelvemonth.

A Teacher of Dante

Dante lovers and Dante scholars will welcome this volume.[1] It informs us concerning Brunetto Latini, Dante's teacher and the Secretary of Councils of the Commune of Florence. We know little of Brunetto as an instructor, but Mr. Dole demonstrates the debt which Dante owes to him as a poet. Brunetto Latini's "Tesoretto" is of value in the study of Dante's "Divine Comedy." Like that work, the "Tesoretto" shows us Brunetto losing the path of his journey and finding himself in the midst of a strange and varied forest, a "selva diversa." This is like the "selva oscura" in which Dante finds himself "in the midst of the road of this our life." The animals in Brunetto's forest obeyed a figure, the personification or incarnation of Nature. The figure instructs Brunetto concerning many things and then causes him to behold the principal rivers, four in number, flowing out of Paradise—the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Gion (Nile), and the Phison, the last named so distant and strange that none ever navigates it. Nature then gives Brunetto instructions how to go safely through the forest until he should see Philosophy and all her sisters, hear news from the four Virtues, and, if he like, he might find Ventura—that is to say, Fortune—and, if he would put his trust in one who has no certain way, he will see Baratteria—that is, Barter, who gives good and ill. If fearless, he will see God. After hearing all that the four Virtues have to say, Brunetto, with a mysterious companion, a cavalier, who in Dante's "Divine Comedy" is Virgil, passes through vales and over mountains until he reaches a beautiful meadow, such as Dante described as the home of the Philosophy family. After this he falls a prey to a fresh young child, standing erect and naked with bow and arrows, who, winged and blind, shoots off arrows at haphazard. Brunetto is extricated by Ovid, the master who had told of the acts of Love and put them into verse. Ovid now tells him about the good and evil qualities of the winged infant. Brunetto resolves to turn to God and his saints, humbly confesses his sins, and submits this his libretto, or little book, begging the priests and friars to correct it and collate it, as well as all his writings, with the teachings of the Christian faith. Dante's indebtedness to Brunetto is thus indicated. The volume also contains an essay by Mr. Dole on "Dante and the Picturesque," in which he shows that the poet's loving reference to color and to plastic creations indicates that he was affected by the spirit which at that time was beginning to spread throughout Italy and was to bring forth the triumphs of Gothic architecture, sculpture, and painting. The remaining portion of the volume treats of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Goldoni, and Alfieri. All the chapters afford interesting and profitable reading.

[1] A Teacher of Dante and Other Studies in Italian Literature. By Nathan Haskell Dole. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.75, net.

New England Transcendentalism

It is rarely the case that a thesis for the Ph.D. degree strikes a chord of interest so wide and vital as this.[1] The story of the New England Transcendentalists is already passing into forgetfulness except among old people, but the spread of the idealistic philosophy perpetuates their influence. Taking these five—Channing, Alcott, Emerson, Parker, and Margaret Fuller—as the foremost representatives of the movement in New England from traditionalism to free thought, Dr. Goddard goes into a minutely inductive study of its genesis and nature, beginning with an investigation of the intellectual and literary influences that affected each of the five in their environment, their reading and studies, and their influence on each other; after which he discusses their relations, severally, to practical life. His treatment of the whole subject is a masterly piece of historical criticism, searching, appreciative, judicial. The conditions for the outburst of the new spirit had long been preparing in a growing revolt against Calvinism. This had developed into what Emerson called "the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism," of which Parker wrote that it did not "do justice to simple religious feeling," and Channing (in 1820) wrote that it was "suffering from union with a heart-withering philosophy." Into the soil thus prepared there came from the Old World, with that spirit of enthusiasm for humanity which gave birth to the French Revolution, that new view of the world which appears in the literature of a century and more ago. The specifically American element which combined with this Dr. Goddard sees in Puritanism. Transcendentalism, whatever more or less it was, was "the blending of an idealistic, Platonic metaphysics and the Puritan spirit, the fusion—at a high revolutionary temperature—of a philosophy and a character." Impractical in part as its representatives were, they were not wholly so; they were utilitarians as well as idealists, and their moral soundness and vigor kept their feet steady in the path of moral prog-

[1] Studies in New England Transcendentalism. By Harold Clarke Goddard. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1, net.

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ress, even while their heads were above the clouds. This monograph is rich in its personal portrayals of the notable characters it is concerned with, and is also a most valuable contribution to the religious and philosophical history of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Motoring Abroad

To any one contemplating a motor trip in Europe this volume[1] is of distinct value, and it is also of interest to the general reader. It is by no means an automobile Baedeker, for it is a narrative of a trip which the author took. He tells simply and frankly his experiences. He gives not only the impressions of the scenery and the people and the monuments which his party encountered, but also his judgment of the hotels they stopped at, what he found the price of gasolene to be, his opinion even of commercial articles, and information about clubs, insurance, equipment, and so on. A very successful and abundant selection of photographs, interspersed with a few clever and decorative drawings and two maps, add vastly to the interest of the volume. Some one of the party knew how to capture in the camera a lively and artistic record of the incidents of the trip.

Historic Houses and Their Gardens

The unusually large page used in this volume[2] affords exceptional opportunities for presenting its beautiful photographs on an adequate scale, and permits the printing to bring out the details of the pictures with fineness and distinctness. The purpose and scope of the book are suggested by its title, although it may be added that the gardens, rather than the houses, receive the larger amount of attention. The subjects included range from some with which we are all familiar, either by personal visits or by picture and reading, to others equally worthy and interesting about which few of us have heard. In the first class, to illustrate, are the house and grounds at Mount Vernon in Virginia, Warwick Castle in England, the Taj Mahal and its surroundings in India, Blenheim Palace near Oxford, and the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Less well-known subjects are the Achilleion on Corfu, the Iris Garden at Horikiri, Japan, Beaulieu Abbey in England, and the Royal Gardens of La Granja in Spain. Altogether thirty subjects are treated, and the list of contributors includes many writers. Naturally, the treatment varies in form and value; but in the main the book is harmonious in style and method, and in every case the reader receives pleasurable impression of the beauty of the places and agreeably rendered information as to their association and history.

[1] Motoring Abroad. By Frank Presbrey. The Outing Publishing Company, New York. $2, net.
[2] Historic Houses and Their Gardens. Edited by Charles Francis Osbourne. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. $6.

The Nile Monuments

A more welcome companion-book for the visitor to "Egypt's land of memory" than this finely illustrated volume[1] could hardly be produced. The translations here presented of the more important and interesting inscriptions that challenge the traveler's curiosity recall the vanished life of that once mighty kingdom in clear reality—the Pharaohs and priests, the conquerors and magicians, the beliefs and customs, of three and four thousand years ago. These inscriptions, together with the photographs accompanying the text, make up a rare "book of remembrance" for the returned traveler, as well as a guide and interpreter for the tourist. The translated inscriptions are accompanied with adequate historical and other notes and comments, and the photographs are of superior quality.

Tuscany

To the list including Mr. Carmichael's "In Tuscany," Mr. Maurice Hewlett's "The Road in Tuscany," Janet Ross's "Old Florence and Modern Tuscany," "Tuscan Feasts"[2] may now be added. We are glad to be instructed and entertained by one who knows her Tuscany so well as does the author of the present volume. Prefacing her prose, she prints a long poem exquisitely expressive of her delight in Italy, while yet longing for what Italy cannot give—English lanes and English hedgerows. But the poem would have had greater impact had it been shorter. The same may be said of the whole book. The author's subject matter is superb and the attractive titles of her every chapter lure the reader to the perusal of page after page. But the attention is not held throughout as it should be. The style becomes rather commonplace and monotonous. This may seem to some like hypercriticism. Certainly the book contains much of value to the intending sojourner in Tuscany.

[1] Inscriptions of the Nile Monuments. By Garrett Chatfield Pier. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5, net.
[2] Tuscan Feasts and Tuscan Friends. By Dorothy Nevile Lees. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.75, net.

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Letters to The Outlook

"CONCERNING AUTOMOBILING"

I

As an "automobile reader," though not an automobile driver, I venture to count myself as one who may accept the invitation held out in your article under the above caption of July 25. Your suggestions strike me as very good for the prevention of accidents from reckless or inexpert driving of automobiles, but if, as you imply, these vehicles are becoming to many a necessity to which society must adapt itself, the further question arises as to the duty owing to society by those who use them. The maxim of law which requires that we should so use our rights and privileges as not to infringe upon those of others is no less one of good morals; and it society allows a privilege to a certain number of its members who delight in the use of vehicles which cause discomfort and annoyance to the much larger number who cannot afford or do not care for them, the owners of those vehicles should at least pay well for the privilege.

It has been my lot to be passing the present summer in an old New England town, near the seashore, where the roadbeds are chiefly sand. It is a pretty town, where the houses are some distance apart and set from twenty to fifty or more feet back from the long street, and having porches where, under favorable circumstances, it is a delight to sit in the summer evenings. But since the advent of the automobile this pleasure is largely destroyed, especially in a dry season, when the air is filled with dust, which blows in clouds up to the doors and into the houses. Add to this the intolerable odor from burning gasoline, and the poison of nature's sweet evening air is complete. Again, some of the inhabitants and visitors are fond of a drive behind a good horse or pair, but the comfort of such drives is greatly marred by this same dust, and by the dread of the horses taking fright at the automobile. As to the more numerous class of pedestrians, they are even greater sufferers, and it is the same with those—now less numerous—who use the bicycle. These objections apply not only to such places as this, but in greater or less degree to all places where the automobile has become common; and in addition thereto is the destruction it causes to the roadbed, of whatever kind this consists.

Now the question arises, What is the remedy which society is entitled to exact for these inconveniences? Should it prohibit the automobile altogether? This would perhaps be too arbitrary, if not impracticable. But, just as in many cities efforts are being made to suppress the "smoke nuisance" by causing factories and apartment-houses to take measures to prevent the emission of dense volumes of smoke from their chimneys, so may the automobilist be required to use electricity or other inoffensive motive power instead of gasoline. Then in thickly settled communities the speed should be so regulated as not only to prevent accident, but to raise as little dust as possible; and, finally, upon every automobile a sufficient tax should be levied to pay fully for the damage caused to the roads over which the automobiles travel. As these vehicles are now constructed, the tax would have to be quite a heavy one, but if this should result in diminishing their number, the public would be largely the gainers.

ALTRUIST.

II

1. You are quite right in advocating the determination by the court alone of "recklessness." For years I have used all my efforts in this direction, and for the abolition of the present absurd miles-per-hour provisions.

2. I approve of "legal presumption" (say twelve miles in built-up portions, eighteen miles in unbuilt-up portions, of a city, with twenty-five miles for the open country), and I believe Connecticut has adopted some such system.

3. I approve scientifically of "imprisonment of the automobile," but not of that theory in practice. Just consider the resulting complications of such a prison! Who would care for the automobile? and where? Should the county be liable for injury or deterioration? What if a jailer should take a machine out for a Sunday to "test it"? The best judgment of automobilists is decidedly against this theory. I may safely say that it has been discussed and discarded. Moreover, it is not necessary, because—

4. Revocation of license on a second offense and imprisonment for a third offense are ample means to produce the desired result.

May I point out that very few accidents are the result of "incapacity" to manage an auto, but that the majority are due to recklessness or to willful disregard of the rights of others? Therefore the real difficulty of the question is one of moral responsibility rather than one of mechanical skill. For this reason I have always advocated a com-

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mission, composed of unsalaried men (like the present Racing Commission), who shall have power to grant, deny, suspend, and revoke licenses, and generally have charge of executing automobile laws. There are many representative men in the Automobile Club of America who are eminently qualified to fill such a position, and doubtless the Club would be willing to assume this additional burden for the benefit of the State if requested to do so.

DAVE H. MORRIS.

Bar Harbor, Maine.

III

While heartily approving the suggestions as to automobiling regulations contained in The Outlook of July 25, I fail to see that they will remedy the worst feature in this connection. I have run automobiles from their first use in the United States, and, in opposition to the extremists among automobilists, have advocated the restrictions now imposed, and others, including the detention of the cars themselves. I am confident that the retention of the cars for a few days would be more effective than any fines or imprisonment. It is well to require evidence of capacity to run a car properly, but unfortunately the worst offenders are those who are the most capable motorists. This fact induces them to take risks which those less capable would not incur, and the greatest number of accidents result from taking chances. The fully qualified motorist, finding that he pulls through ninety-nine times, expects to do the same on the next occasion, and then the *accident* occurs. Undoubtedly high speed is the main factor of danger—but it is, as The Outlook states, a relative matter. A safe speed with everything all right is sometimes fatal with a broken tire or disarranged steering gear. If there could be evolved some test to determine the possession of good judgment and carefulness, that is what is most needed, for without these qualities no motorist is properly equipped. F.

Gloucester, Massachusetts.

[In connection with these comments of correspondents and the suggestions originally made by The Outlook, it is of interest to note the provisions of the elaborate law of the State of Connecticut, which has been sent to us in its full text by a correspondent. The law provides (in addition to registry of each motor vehicle in the office of the Secretary of State under a full description of the machine, the taking out of certificates, and the display of the registry numbers on the machines, with special permission for the transfer of the certificate under supervision) that no person shall operate a motor-car on public highways without license, that if the machine is driven by a licensed person other than the owner both operator and owner shall be personally liable for injury, and that no license shall be issued to a person under eighteen years. It also provides that the license may be revoked by the Secretary of State, or his deputy, after a hearing upon three days' notice, for good cause; but if a license is refused or revoked, an appeal lies to the Superior Court. Whenever any one is convicted of violating the law relating to motor vehicles by any court or justice of the peace, the record, or an abstract, must be sent to the Secretary of State, who is thus kept informed of flagrant offenses and convictions, and may revoke licenses, while on a third conviction within one year of the same person, forfeiture of the license is positively incurred. The regulation as to speed is simply that "No person shall operate a motor vehicle on the public highways of this State recklessly, or at a rate of speed greater than is reasonable and proper, having regard to the width, traffic, and use of the highway, or so as to endanger property or the life or limb of any person." But it is also provided that a speed of twenty-five miles an hour for an eighth of a mile or more is *prima facie* evidence of unreasonable speed. Suitable provision is made for the conduct of drivers of motors in meeting or passing other vehicles, or upon approaching bridges, curves, steep descents, or crossings, and for the use of bells, horns, brakes, lights, etc. Punishment is by fine or imprisonment. The State law supersedes all ordinances of cities, towns, or boroughs on this subject, and they are not to make laws as to motor vehicles, except as is necessary for regulating the use of parks and the regulating of processions, assemblages, or parades in streets or public places.—THE EDITORS.]

A CORRECTION AND AN OPINION

A mistake in your issue of July 18, while it may not appear large in New York City, is certainly too serious to be overlooked by The Outlook's Nebraska readers, who have been led to believe in the absolute accuracy of its statements. The statement is that Mr. William J. Bryan "served one term in Congress, the same length of time as Abraham Lincoln, and, like Lincoln, produced on the House no notable impression. This is, we believe, the whole of his office-holding experience." The fact is that Mr. Bryan served two terms in Congress, being elected from this district in 1890 and again in 1892. The question whether he produced "no notable impression" in Congress is one of

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opinion and not of fact. I believe scarcely any historian, however, would place the impression he produced in Congress in the same catalogue with that produced by Abraham Lincoln in his single term.

This is written by a man who has never belonged to the political organization that Mr. Bryan affiliates with, and is very far from being a Bryan worshiper. It expresses, I believe, a correction, both of the statement of fact and of opinion, which is true and reasonable. A. E. S.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

ABOUT OREGON

Many of your readers have been both interested and pleased with the series of papers by Mr. Bruce entitled "The Romance of American Expansion," a timely subject, very delightfully treated: it is well to have our history thus popularized. While the general reader is usually interested in a historical subject, he is often wearied by the ponderousness of it, and false notions popularly prevail that can best be corrected by papers of this nature, that are prepared with some regard to accuracy, and without controversy. To a rather voracious reader of everything obtainable regarding the Acquisition of Oregon, the fifth paper, touching upon that period of our expansion, has been especially welcome, but he ventures the following by way of prediction:

1. It seems probable that the future writer of Oregon history will not emphasize a present popular belief that there ever was great danger that through sheer negligence the United States would lose what undoubtedly belonged to her. Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, and President Monroe and his Cabinet (which included J. Q. Adams) certainly did not forget American interests up to and after the time of the joint convention of 1818; J. Q. Adams during his Presidency certainly stood firm for our interests in the Columbia River country, and of all public men of the period up to 1846, he knew those interests, and would not have permitted them to go by default; President Jackson and President Van Buren may have seemed to be asleep, but were all the while alert and doing a little something; and no one will rightfully accuse President Tyler and Secretary Webster of being neglectful. It took two to make a bargain, and "Barkis [Great Britain] was" quite "unwillin'" up to about 1842. Neither was the ignorance about the resources and value of Oregon so deep as has been popularly supposed, and Calhoun's doctrine that time would of itself give us Oregon was not merely partisan, in the opinion of J. G. Blaine.

2. The part taken by Senator Benton will be better understood, and he will not be accorded as much credit as has been claimed for him; one needs to consult the original Congressional records for that part rather than his own abridgment in his "Thirty Years' View." Senator Benton was a "big" man, and he certainly labored both in and out of season, but his statesmanship often resembles that of a bellowing bull. Against the Ashburton Treaty, because it left out Oregon, he could muster only nine out of fifty votes. As an expansionist he was our very greatest; the following is from his Oregon speech in the Senate on January 12, 1843 (not in the abridgment):

> We should count upon expelling them [the English] from our continent, giving freedom to Ireland, and aiding the English people to reform their government. . . . Sooner or later the war will come, for Great Britain is determined upon it, and we should roll the thunder back upon her own shores. Thirty thousand friends of Ireland landed on her coast, and forming the rallying-point for a million of patriots, would make "the devoted island" free, and shake Old England to her center. These are my sentiments, and I neither dissemble nor deny them. . . . The man is alive and with a beard on his face (though it may not be I) who will see an American army in Ireland and an American general in the streets of London.

3. Daniel Webster's attitude and influence will be more generally recognized. At present he is more often considered as having been unfriendly to Oregon Acquisition, ignorant of the resources and possibilities of the country, and the first user of the bitter diatribe beginning: "What do we want with the vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie-dogs?" This speech has never been traced to Webster, and it is safe to say he never uttered it. A fairly careful study of Webster's speeches and letters in the Federal Edition and of the diplomacy of 1842–6 shows him to have been very true to American interests and accurate in his view of the situation. While his personal estimate of the country was at times not high, his official acts did not reflect it; and at the final crisis his personal reputation abroad really brought the British Ministry to its decision to be content with the forty-ninth parallel.

4. Unfortunately, the casual reader (not meaning Mr. Bruce) has obtained his ideas of Oregon Acquisition from Barrows, whose history was largely drawn from the loose writings of W. H. Gray and from the exaggerated tales of the missionary movement. The forthcoming histories by Professor Hodder, of the University of Kansas (to replace Barrows in the Commonwealth Series), and by Professor Schafer, of the University of Oregon, who has recently been

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given access to the British archives in London, will be welcomed as something reliable at last.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Walla Walla, Washington.

[At the request of The Outlook, Mr. Bruce comments on this letter as follows: "I have read Mr. Elliott's comment with interest, but am not prepared to admit the force of his objections to my presentation of the Oregon question. Certainly the evidence to which I have had access—and which includes not Barrows's 'Oregon,' but the abundant source-material in Harvard University library—justifies the emphasis I have placed on Benton's services. I agree with Mr. Elliott that Webster had considerable influence in effecting a peaceful settlement of the conflicting claims of the two countries. But it by no means follows that he should be given the lion's share of the credit due those who labored for years to save Oregon for the United States. This honor, I am convinced, belongs to Benton, Webster's interest being chiefly that of a lover of peace anxious to get rid of a troublesome problem. As to the 'negligence,' I would remind Mr. Elliott that there still are those who insist that 'by sheer negligence,' and worse, the United States actually lost part of her rightful territory, viz., British Columbia. This is not my view of the case, but I do not believe that the available evidence warrants the view that the successive administrations were alive to the importance of Oregon and the rights of the United States therein. With regard to the question of popular ignorance of the resources of Oregon much testimony is available. The latest piece of evidence to be brought to light is contained in Mr. Howe's recently published 'Life and Letters of George Bancroft.' Under date of February 15, 1845, we find the historian writing: 'After dinner I left a card on J. C. Calhoun, and with Gilpin spent an hour with Benton and his most interesting son-in-law, Lieutenant Fremont. To hear him talk of the Oregon country seemed like being carried among snow-capped mountains of Switzerland; and his account of the valleys and beautiful runs of water was almost enough to make you think that the garden of Eden was the other side of the mountains. I had no idea that there were so many ranges of mountains or so beautifully picturesque and inviting a region.' Of course it is idle to believe that the last word has been written on a subject so difficult as this of Oregon, and it may well be that some new and important evidence will be adduced in the forthcoming books mentioned by Mr. Elliott. But I do not anticipate that they will revolutionize the present judgment as to the principal actors in the impressive drama."—THE EDITORS.]

THE STORY OF A STORY

A friend of The Outlook writes that the story "Where Love is, There God is Also," attributed to Tolstoy in The Outlook of March 28 last, really has for author M. R. Gaillens, a well-known Protestant pastor and evangelist. As evidence of this he quotes the following letter from Tolstoy to M. Gaillens, published in the latter's book "Récits et Allégories:"

I am truly distressed to have caused you any annoyance, and I beg you to pardon me. No discourtesy to you was intended, as you will see.

There appeared in Russia a monthly publication of small circulation called The Workman. A friend of mine gave me the issue of this paper containing a translation of your story, "Père Martin," adapted to life in Russia, and suggested that I should use this as a basis for a popular Russian story. The author's name was omitted. The story pleased me very much. I made a few changes in the style and added several incidents, and sent it to my friend for publication without my name, as was customary, not alone in regard to "Père Martin," but also in respect to all the sketches written by me. For the second edition the editor begged leave to add my name to the stories he had received from me, and I consented, forgetting at the time that among the tales furnished by me, of which eight were my own, the story of "Père Martin" was included. However, as the story had been adapted by me to the Russian, the editor published it over my name with the others.

In one of the editions, revised by me, I add the phrase "Adapted from the English" to the title "Where Love is, There God is Also," as my friend who had originally given me the paper had told me the author was English. But in the complete edition of my works this phrase has been omitted, and the translator has been guilty of the same omission.

In this way, Monsieur, to my great regret, I have been guilty of unconscious plagiarism; and it gives me the greatest pleasure to testify in this note that the story "Where Love is, There God is Also" is only a translation of your admirable tale, "Père Martin," adapted by me to the Russian.

I beg you, Monsieur, to pardon my oversight, and to receive the assurance of my fraternal regard.

LEON TOLSTOY.

[We are very glad to give place to this explanation, but we should be very much surprised not to find, on comparing the two versions, that Tolstoy in "adapting" the tale had also infused much of his own individual genius into the rendering.—THE EDITORS.]

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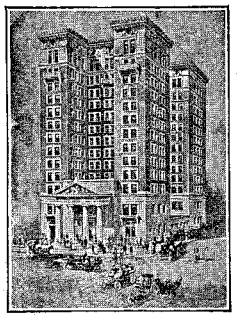

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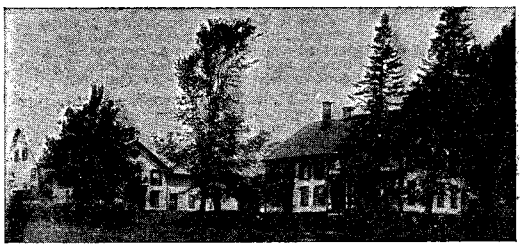

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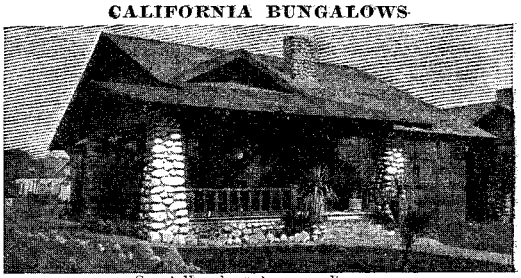

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HELP WANTED

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EXPERIENCED stenographer desires position September 1. Reference from present employer. 9,655, Outlook.

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POSITION as matron in school or institution. Best references. 9,669, Outlook.

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SITUATIONS WANTED

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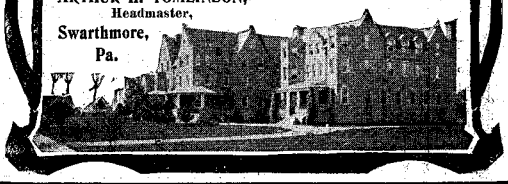

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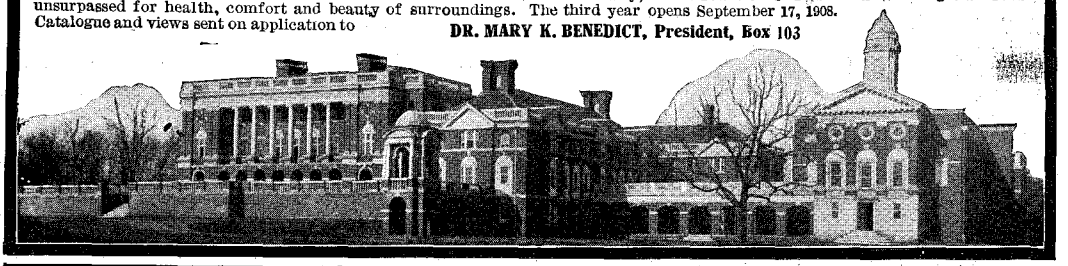

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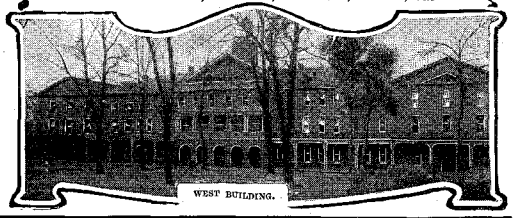

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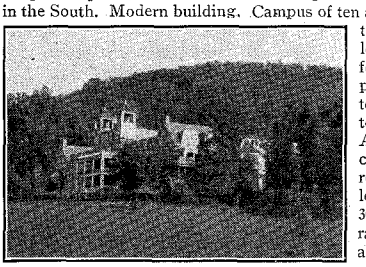

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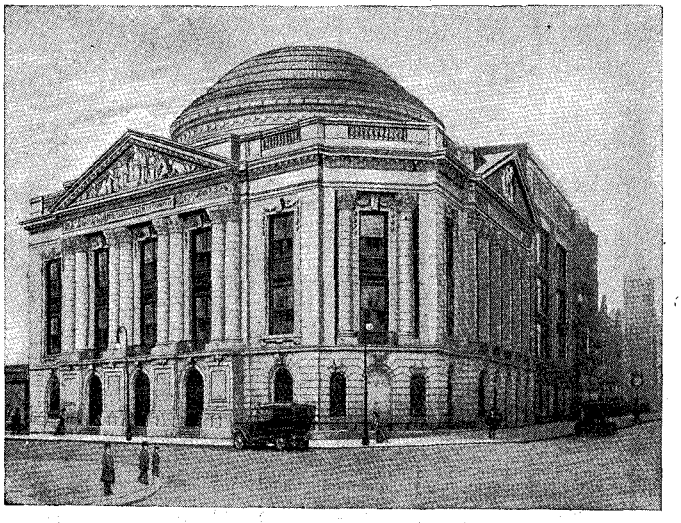

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